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FACING THE  
RESPONSIBILITY OF  
PAULUS MANUTIUS

*by*

MARTIN LOWRY



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## ABBREVIATIONS

- Aldo Aldo Manuzio di Paolo Iunior
- Aldus Aldus Manutius Senior
- CEBR *Contemporaries of Erasmus: a Biographical Register*, 3 vols.,  
University of Toronto Press 1985-87
- Eubel K. Eubel & G. Van Gulik, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii et  
Recentioris Aevi*, vol. 3, Regensburg 1923
- Nolhac P. de Nolhac, "Lettres inedites de Paul Manuce" in *École  
Française de Rome, Melanges d'Archæologie et d'Histoire*,  
vol. 3, 1883
- Pastor L. von Pastor, *History of the Popes from the Close of the  
Middle Ages*, new English edition, 40 vols., Liechtenstein  
1968-69
- PMEL Pauli Manutii *Epistolarum Libri decem, duobus nuper additis*,  
Venice 1580
- PMLV *Tre Libri di Lettere Volgari di M. Paolo Manuzio*, Venice 1556
- PIEM E. Pastorello, *L'Epistolario Manuziano—inventario crono-  
logico-analitico 1483-1597*, Florence 1957
- PIM E. Pastorello, ed., *Inedita Manutiana*, Florence 1960
- RAIA A.-A. Renouard, *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Aldes*, 3rd edn.,  
Paris 1834
- RLMI A.-A. Renouard, ed., *Lettere Manutiane inedite, copiate sugli  
autografi nella Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, Paris 1834
- UCLA *A Catalogue of the Ahmanson-Murphy Aldine Collection at  
UCLA*, Los Angeles 1989-1994



### *NOTE*

The “scudo d’oro” was a gold crown first issued by Pope Clement VII in 1532, and is described by A. Berman, *Papal Coins*, New York 1991, p. 27, as “of very consistent weight and purity”. Its content of 3.36 gms of gold made it equivalent to the Venetian ducat and the Florentine florin.



## THE PROBLEM

“I SAW that you would be capable not just of preserving, but of increasing the fame of your father”, wrote Lazaro Bonamico to Paulus Manutius in 1531, two years before the young man had printed a word. As if in response, Paulus spent much energy during the next few years trying to defend his exclusive right to use “the types of which his father had been the inventor and designer”, and often echoed Lazaro’s phrase about his “father’s fame”. His output of classical first editions was never quite as prolific as Aldus’ had been at the turn of the centuries – it could not have been, for there was no longer such a crowd of authors awaiting attention. But Paulus was rounding off sequences that his father had begun: Aristotle and his commentators in the folio editions of Themistius, Eustratius, and Philoponus; the Latin poets with the octavo of Grattius and Nemesianus; the Greek fathers with the lost works of Gregory Nazianzenus and Gregory of Nyssa. The heir of the Manutii was striving to fill the role of humanist publisher for which his father’s admirers had cast him before he was out of his teens.<sup>1</sup>

He strove for nearly thirty years, ending his work in Venice as printer to Federigo Badoer’s *Academia Venetiana*, or “Acade-

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1. *Lazari Bonamici Carmina et Epistolae, una cum eius Vita a Jo. Baptista Verci conscripta*, Venice 1770, Ep. 5, pp. 87-88 = *PIM* no. 265, 29 October 1531, Lazaro Bonamico to Paulus, from Padua. A. Ceruti, “Lettere inedite di Paolo Manuzio”, *Archivio Veneto* 23, 1882 no. 6, p. 338 = *PIM* no. 312, 25 July 1539, Paulus from Verona to Girolamo Leoni. For comment on the legal aspects, and documents, see E. Pastorello, “Di Aldo Pio Manuzio: testimonianze e documenti”, *La Bibliofilia* 67, 1965, pp. 163-220; for the editions concerned see *UCLA* fasc. IIIa, nos. 234, 240, 241, 252, 253.

mia della Fama” during the early 1560s. Badoer’s plans were much more honourable than his methods of business, and he never achieved anything like the range of publications he had advertised in 1558. But even the scattered volumes of Aristotelian commentary or mathematics that did find their way into print, and the very word “Accademia”, bring the air of a more generous past to the time of Pope Paul IV’s terrible Index.<sup>2</sup> This makes it all the stranger to see Paulus quit Venice and head for Rome in 1561 to become official printer to the papacy. One publisher’s career seems to encompass two distinct phases and two opposing trends in the history of printing – the last years of liberal humanism and the growth of organised censorship.

“Happy his biographer!”, sighed Pierre de Nolhac as he surveyed this record, and the expanse of material ready to document it. But was the prospect quite as attractive as Nolhac thought? True, twelve books of Latin letters and four of Italian had been published in Paulus’ lifetime: more had appeared after his death, and as Nolhac was offering a selection of new material from the Vatican Library, he was well aware that still more could yet be found. Since his time, the painstaking compilations of Ester Pastorello have made most of the unpublished material accessible,

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2. P. Rose, “The Accademia Venetiana: Science and Culture in Renaissance Venice”, *Studi Veneziani* 11, 1969, pp. 191-242; L. Bolzoni, “L’Accademia Veneziana: splendore e decadenza di una utopia enciclopedica”, in *Università, Accademie e Società scientifica in Italia e in Germania dal Cinquecento al Settecento*, a cura di L. Boehm e E. Raimondi, Bologna 1981, pp. 117-67. On the Pauline index see P. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*, Princeton 1977, esp. pp. 115-27.

and provided a secure framework of chronology.<sup>3</sup> Aldus has found other biographers, and numerous admirers: but Paulus' biographer, less happy or less confident than Nolzac expected, has failed to come forward.

The reasons for this neglect are perhaps clearer today than they would have been a century ago. Paulus' claims to be "supporting the weight of his father's reputation" have not really stood up to investigation. Between 1533 and 1536 something rather like the Aldine circle took shape again, and at least a dozen important Greek editions came off the presses of Manutius, Zanetti, and Da Sabio. But Paulus did little to keep the impetus going. The legal documents published by Pastorello seem to show him attacking the understanding with the Torresani which his father had preserved so carefully, and in 1537 he left for Rome.<sup>4</sup> Thereafter, even the crudest figures reveal the contrast between Aldus' humanism and that of his son. For Aldus, the emphasis was on variety. His Greek first editions can be numbered almost anywhere between thirty and ninety and his literary octavos,

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3. Nolzac p. 268. Pauli Manutii *Epistolarum Libri decem, duobus nuper additis*, Venice 1571: *Tre Libri di Lettere Volgari di M. Paolo Manuzio*, Venice 1556; Pauli Manutii *Epistolae quae in editis operibus desiderantur, Miscellanea di varie operette* 6, Venice 1742: *PIEM* and *PIM*.

4. Pauli Manutii *Epistolae Selectae* ed. M. Fickelscherer, Leipzig: Teubner 1892, p. 2. ". . . magnam hoc tempore propter memoriam clarissimi patris expectationem sustineam", letter of 6 September 1533. On Zanetti little is available but an untitled note by R. Cessi in *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* N.S. Anno XVI, vol. 31, 1916, pp. 494-98.

5. The decision depends largely on where the line is drawn between classical and Byzantine: compare the figures implied by B. Botfield, *Praefationes et Epistolae Editionibus Principibus Auctorum Veterum Praepositae*, Cam-

whatever their language, revolutionised reading habits.<sup>5</sup> Paulus focused on a single Latin author, and one who some of his contemporaries felt was overworked. Of the 575 editions published by the Aldine press or financed by its members during his active career, one hundred were works of Cicero, translations of Cicero, or commentaries on Cicero. He founded his reputation on the six editions of Cicero's letters, speeches and philosophical writings published during 1540 and 1541, and reissued so frequently that nearly a third of his total output of printed pages carried Ciceronian or related writings.<sup>6</sup> Paulus never claimed, like the "Workaholicus" of Erasmus' *Ciceronianus*, to dine on a handful of sugared coriander seeds and raisins before retiring to his sound-proof study with a brain completely purged of non-Ciceronian phrases: but when he writes in 1535 of "turning the most exquisite phrases of Cicero over and over in my mind, then clothing them in the most suitable language", he sounds very like the kind of person Erasmus had in mind.<sup>7</sup> His first academic confidant was Lazaro Bonamico,

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bridge 1861, with those suggested in my *World of Aldus Manutius*, Oxford 1979, pp. 257-8. For the debate on the Aldine octavo see my *Book Prices in Renaissance Venice*, UCLA Special Collections Occasional Papers 5, 1991.

6. This total covers all Renouard's entries between 1533 and 1570, including doubtful cases: e.g. *Rime e Prose di Giovanni della Casa* (RALA pp. 175-76) and the Bolognese editions of Antonius Manutius (pp. 168, 170, 172) which were certainly printed by him on his own account (Paulus to Francesco Robortello, *PMEL* pp. 302-3 = *PIM* no. 998). Of the 118,184 folios used for these editions 37,882 were devoted to Ciceronian writings or commentaries.

7. A. Ceruti, "Lettere Inedite", cited in n. 1, above, p. 333 = *PIM* no. 389. On reaction to the dialogue in 1528 see *Collected Works of Erasmus in English* vol. 28, University of Toronto Press 1986, pp. 324-36.

the professor of classics at Padua who was quoted as dismissing modern literature wholesale as “a tissue of all the barbarisms in the world”. Attitudes which were criticised as modish affectations in their own time have not gained in popularity since.<sup>8</sup>

The contrast between this committed classicism and the sequence of catechisms or conciliar decrees which poured from the Aldine press after its move to Rome seems so complete that bibliographers have revealed some embarrassment in tracing them to the same person. Antoine-Augustin Renouard, on whose research all subsequent Aldine studies have been based, had steeped himself in the secular values of the *Encyclopédistes* during the 1780s and harangued the National Assembly on its cultural mission during the Revolution. To him, an alliance between humanism and priestcraft was inconceivable. Though he had found a draft of the terms submitted by Paulus to the papacy, which he published along with the relevant correspondence of the papal legate Girolamo Seripando in the third edition of his *Annales*, Renouard could only conclude that the move compelled Paulus to “break off his studies”, and that it was forced upon him by his difficult situation in Venice. Writing a century later and in the light of archival documents unknown to Renouard, Francesco Barberi saw the move from an almost exactly opposite angle, as a humanist’s forlorn dream of cherishing some shoots of liberal thought in the frozen wasteland of Counter-Reformation Rome, as an inevitable and not very heroic failure. It made little difference. However the colours were arranged, the overall pattern of Paulus’ career remained one of violent contrasts and extremes; it lacked

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8. *Opere di M. Sperone Speroni degli Alvarotti*, Venice: Domenico Occhi, 5 vols., 1740, vol. 1, pp. 166-201.

either the continuity or the commitment to attract a biographer.<sup>9</sup> Only recently has the appearance of new evidence revealed that the two aspects of Paulus' career were intimately connected, and that only the most tragic accidents or confusions divided them.

*NEW EVIDENCE:  
THE AHMANSON-MURPHY DOCUMENT*

In the summer of 1990 the Ahmanson-Murphy collection at UCLA acquired the document which forces Paulus on our attention again. At face-value the new evidence is unspectacular enough: it is a single, oxide-burned folio carrying in a notary's hand the full text of the contract under which Paulus went to Rome in 1561. The number "159" on the recto side suggests that the paper came from a portfolio of similar notarial acts. Its more immediate provenance is quite uncertain: all that can be said is that it formed part of an assortment of isolated curial documents auctioned at Sotheby's on 26 April 1990.<sup>10</sup>

A full translation is needed to set the contract against its proper background:

Our Lord His Holiness wishes for the honour and service of the Holy Apostolic See and for the benefit and utility of all to bring a printing-press to Rome. From it, well edited and corrected books both of the Holy Scriptures and of every other kind may be sent

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9. Entry in *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Paris 1876: *RAIA* pp. 442-3; Francesco Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio e la stampa del Popolo Romano (1561-1570)*, con documenti inedite, Rome 1942.

10. UCLA Special Collections Ms. 170/658.



out, which is especially desirable in these times when printed texts have been corrupted in many places by the heretics. His Holiness has determined to give the management of this operation to Master Paulus Manutius, at present resident in Venice: wherefore, by express order of His Holiness and in His Name, the Holy Apostolic Camera on the one side, and the aforesaid Master Paulus, and on his behalf the Very Reverend Monsignor Antonius, bishop of Caserta, acting as his procurator, on the other, agree to the following terms:—

First, that the said Camera hires the aforesaid Master Paulus for the direction and management of the said press for a period of twelve years beginning from the first day of May next following, at a fee of 500 gold scudi per year to be paid to him in advance at intervals of six months, the payments being understood to begin from the next first of May. In settlement of this sum the Camera is obliged to give him a sound note of hand, readily exchangeable: further, and as part of the same settlement, it will see that His Holiness assigns to Master Paulus within a month of his arrival in Rome a place in one of the holy orders of knights, to be made out in the name of Master Paulus' son.

Further, that the said Camera must, at the good pleasure of Master Paulus and of his said procurator Monsignor of Caserta, pay the sum of 300 scudi of the same denomination which shall be used to cover the expenses of Master Paulus' conveying himself and his household from Venice to Rome.

Further, that the said Camera will add to its expenditure, for the said period of twelve years, the rent of a house suitable for the press and sufficient to accommodate Master Paulus' household and whatever assistants he thinks it necessary to employ for the running of the press.

Further, that the said Master Paulus will be responsible not only for the general supervision of matters which concern the press, but also for the sale of the books which he prints there.

Further, that the said Camera must provide the said Master Paulus first with the funds to be spent on the overall equipment of the press, and on the number of presses which Master Paulus thinks necessary, and which His Holiness approves: thereafter it must help with the daily needs of the enterprise, such as paper and other necessary material, the payment of press-operators and correctors, besides the fee of Master Paulus himself, the hire of other assistants, and any further incidentals; all of which must be laid down and controlled by the good sense and experience of the said Master Paulus.

Further, that if war or plague or some other overwhelming disaster – which God forbid – should force the press to stop production, none the less the said fee must continue to be paid to Master Paulus until the said term of twelve years is completed, excluding any cancellation or suspension of any kind whatever, unless such interruption has occurred through the fault of Master Paulus.

On his side, the said Master Paulus must start for Rome for this said purpose as soon as the said 300 scudi for the expenses of that journey have reached him, and he must serve for the full term of the twelve years according to the terms of these articles.

Further, that the said Master Paulus must manage the said enterprise conscientiously, and with the honesty and application that are required.

Further, the contracting parties agree that the said Camera must keep at the disposal of the said Master Paulus a cashier through whose hands the funds for the overall needs of the said press may

be disbursed, and into whose hands all income from the daily sale of books must come. He shall keep careful accounts of all. And, to ensure that the said enterprise can proceed without fear of any of the interruptions that can occur through the lack of ready cash, it is desirable that a bank or a suitable individual should be made responsible for paying to the said cashier, without question or delay, whatever funds are required from time to time for the account of the said enterprise by the direction of the said Master Paulus.

Further, that the said Camera and the aforesaid Master Paulus must close the accounts every four months: the said Camera is first to be reimbursed from the sums realised by the sale of books for all expenditure which it shall have incurred on the said enterprise, apart from the stipend of 500 ducats per year and the rent on the house; thereafter, one half of the remaining profit shall accrue to the said Camera and the other half to the aforesaid Master Paulus.

Further, the said Camera promises that His Holiness will confirm the present contract, with all the necessary clauses, by his personal act, within the next fifteen days.

It is normally assumed that Paulus was summoned to Rome chiefly to print the decrees of the Council of Trent and the revised liturgical texts which its deliberations produced. The contract in fact says nothing about the Council, whose recall was still no more than an article of policy, and it makes only the vaguest allusion to books “of the Holy Scriptures and of every other kind”. Antonio Bernardi or della Mirandola, bishop of Caserta, must have drafted the twelve-year agreement shortly before its inception on 1 May

1561, and his may be the hand in which the contract is written. During those twelve years Paulus was to receive his salary of 500 ducats per annum in two instalments, and 300 ducats in cash immediately to meet the expenses of moving from Venice. A letter to his brother Manuzio, dated May 17, expresses Paulus' delight with the terms, and the care with which even the details had been tailored to his needs.<sup>11</sup> The sinecure knighthood answered all his paternal fears about young Aldo, whom at this age (14) he saw as lacking either the virility to marry or the energy to continue the business. Since Aldo did both, the pope's anxiety to satisfy Paulus on every count is more striking still.<sup>12</sup> We know from a letter of 8 September 1561, that the Manutius household was installed by then in the promised house, and that it, too, was on the most magnificent scale: the palazzo d'Aragonia, a splendid villa with two gardens and three fountains, it had once been the home of the humanist cardinal Egidio da Viterbo.<sup>13</sup>

A sweeping reference to "cura generale" gave Paulus full executive control of the enterprise, including decisions on the number of presses, the supply of paper, the hiring and firing of editors, and the sale of books. All consequent expenses would be met by the Camera Apostolica. His 500 ducats were to be paid even if war or plague stopped the press operating for a time. This vital clause had formed part of Paulus' original petition, and reflected a shrewd awareness of family and business history: between 1509 and 1512 the war with the

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11. *RLMI* pp. 54-57 no. XXV = *PIEM* no. 1010.

12. *RLMI* p. 49 no. XXIV = *PIEM* no. 859.

13. *RLMI* p. 67 = *PIEM* no. 1023.

League of Cambrai had kept his father's press out of production, and in 1478 a combination of war and plague had halved the number of printers operating in Venice. Paulus was to be freed from the major hazards which had threatened his predecessors, and which he knew would continue to threaten his competitors.<sup>14</sup>

He was to be spared not only the major hazards, but the minor irritations, of business. The Camera Apostolica agreed to choose a special cashier, who would deal with day to day expenses of the press, handle arrangements with bankers, "without argument or delay", and consolidate accounts every four months. Here again, as with the twelve-year contract, the 500 ducats fee, and the sinecure knighthood, Paulus' requests were accepted to the letter. The accounts of the "depositarius" Marsiglio Cafano were discovered towards the end of the last century, and prove beyond doubt that large payments for basic equipment began at the end of July 1561, just after Paulus' arrival in Rome.<sup>15</sup>

To understand its full significance we must approach the contract between the Manutius press and the Holy See on a number of different levels. It is – and clearly was – interesting enough as

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14. *RAIA* p. 524. Lowry, *Aldus Manutius*, pp.128-29, 160. V. Scholderer, "Printing in Venice to the end of 1481", in *Fifty Essays in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Bibliography*, ed. D. E. Rhodes, Amsterdam 1960, esp. pp. 88-89.

15. G.-B. Beltrani, "La tipografia romana diretta da Paolo Manuzio", *Rivista Europea*, Anno VIII vol. 3, 1877, pp. 973-1001: A. Lodolini, "La stamperia Vaticana e i suoi primi libri", *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia* VII, 1933-34, pp. 154-61.

a commercial proposition and nothing more. Such evidence as we have suggests that the financial structure of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century publishing houses followed two theoretically distinct patterns which in reality often overlapped, as each had certain advantages. Some printers formed what were companies in the full sense, agreements between equal partners to share the investment, the risks, and the profits of an enterprise for a defined period that could be extended or shortened at will. In 1480 the Venetian companies of Nicholas Jenson and John of Cologne merged to form a syndicate whose capital base must have been nearly 10,000 ducats and which was intended to operate for five years. In the event, it dissolved after less than eighteen months of intense activity.<sup>16</sup> A generation later the “great companies” of Lyon drew together a slowly widening circle of investors – first Aymot de la Porte and Loys Martin, then Luxembourg de Gabiano, Hugues de la Porte, Antoine Vincent, and Jacomo Giunti – to lay the foundations of a financial oligarchy that would control the production of legal texts. The syndicate which they had formed in 1520 was planned to last for six years, but their agreement was repeatedly prolonged: and when it was eventually dissolved on 30 December 1541, the leading partners Gabiano, de la Porte and Giunti all controlled investments valued at 15,135 livres tournois.<sup>17</sup>

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16. Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson and the Rise of Venetian Publishing in Renaissance Europe*, Oxford 1991, pp. 174-77.

17. Jeanne-Marie Dureau, “Recherches sur les Grandes Compagnies Lyonnaises au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle”, in *Nouvelles Études Lyonnaises*, ed. R. Chartier, Geneva 1969, pp. 4-63.

These were international corporations, operating like and often including the more prominent merchants in the cities where they were based. At the other end of the scale was the dependent craftsman, working on commission from one or a series of paymasters. The most striking case is perhaps that of Guillaume le Roy of Lyon, whose press was set up actually in the house of Barthélemy Buyer. In Venice during the mid-1470s Jacques le Rouge published a considerable list of humanistic and legal texts, most of which probably came to him through Jenson's academic and social contacts.<sup>18</sup>

The great entrepreneurs or "marchands-libraires" seemed to many of their contemporaries to make an easy profit by manipulating their dependants and directing investment as they chose. But besides the greater risks of "war and plague", or the responsibilities of careful book-keeping, they also had to reckon with tensions among themselves. There were strains between Aldus and Andrea Torresani in the 1500s over the production of Greek classics, and even more serious strains between Paulus and his Torresani uncles in the 1530s when he, as the youngest and smallest shareholder, tried to establish control over the company.<sup>19</sup>

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18. The vital article of Ch. Perrat, "Barthélemy Buyer et les débuts de l'imprimerie à Lyon", *Humanisme et Renaissance* 2, 1935, pp. 103-30, 234-75, 349-387, is conveniently summarised by L. Febvre and H.-J. Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, English edition, London 1984, pp. 117-20. On Le Rouge see my *Nicholas Jenson*, pp. 123-7.

19. Letter of Paulus from Verona to Benedetto Rhamberti, 25 July 1539, *PIEM* no. 313, in A. Ceruti, "Lettere inedite", *Archivio Veneto* 23, 1882, no. 7, pp. 339-40. On signs of strain between Aldus and Andrea Torresani in the 1500s see my *Aldus Manutius*, pp. 152-3.

The dependent craftsman might lack freedom of editorial action, but while he had commissions he had at least a short-term security. The contract under which Leonardus Wild printed 930 Vulgate Bibles for Nicolaus of Frankfurt in 1478 laid down an exact schedule under which the 250 ducats due for the commission were to be paid. Even the most successful or best capitalised publishers such as Jenson and Aldus found it worthwhile to accept commissions from outside the financial framework of their companies. Two of the most celebrated early Italian editions, Landino's translation of Pliny's *Natural History*, and the *Hypnerotomachia Polifili*, were underwritten in this way.<sup>20</sup>

On the face of things, the requests made by Paulus Manutius and accepted by the Holy See combined the freedom and flexibility of a large editorial enterprise with the security of a dependent craftsman. The twelve-year contract signed was by any standard very long: the great Lyon syndicates were planned to last for only six years, though in the event they lasted much longer than that. Paulus would have no worries about investment or cash-flow, all of which would be handled by the Camera Apostolica through its clerk Cafano. At the same time the "general care" of the production of "books of all kind" would give him virtual freedom of editorial choice. We know that Aldus negotiated intermittently throughout the latter part of his

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20. Contract of Wild and Nicolaus of Frankfurt in R. Fulin, "Documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana," *Archivio Veneto* 23, 1882, pp. 101-2; on the Italian Pliny see E. de Roover, "Per la storia dell'arte della stampa in Italia: come furono stampati a Venezia tre de'primi libri in volgare", *La Bibliofilia* 55, 1953, pp. 107-15; and on *Polifilo* see M. Billanovich, "Francesco Colonna, il *Polifilo* e la famiglia Lelli", *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 19, 1976, pp. 419-28.



life with a number of princes – the Emperor Maximilian, the duke of Ferrara, the pope – for the endowment of an institution that would both teach and publish the ancient languages. Such had been his dream of an academy. Paulus believed that he had at last realized that dream. On 15 August he wrote to his brother Manuzio: “My father sought an agreement of this kind for years, and never obtained one: now I have one that I have been begged to accept”.<sup>21</sup> Far from seeming a withdrawal from his preferred studies or a retreat from his father’s ideals, the move to Rome meant realizing dreams that already reached back two generations.

Lacking the original version of the contract, Barberi and Renouard found it easy to assume that Paulus had made “extravagant requests” which the papacy could not have honoured and perhaps never took seriously.<sup>22</sup> Its reappearance sharpens our curiosity about the precise circumstances in which the agreement was signed, the men who backed it, and the part it played in the broader strategy of Catholic revival. The contract as we have it is undated: but it bears at its conclusion the signature of “Johannes Card. Moronus”, and in a letter of 3 May 1561, Ludovico Beccadelli tells Paulus he was present “when the Most Reverend Morone signed the contract”. A letter of 12 April from Paulus’ agent Antonio Bernardi assures the printer that his instructions to conclude the contract are being carried out and that Morone has approved, but adds that the final draft has not yet been completed. The tenth line of the contract itself states that its terms were to be in force from 1 May, so the final negotiations must have taken

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21. *RLM* p. 60 = *PIEM* no. 1021. On earlier academic dreams see my *Aldus Manutius*, esp. pp. 200-2.

22. Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, pp. 30-31.

place in the last days of April.<sup>23</sup> But the scheme had been in hand for some time. On March 20 Bernardi had advised Paulus that “the matter was concluded”, attributing success to the influence of Cardinals Seripando and Borromeo: Seripando himself had informed Paulus of serious discussion in consistory as early as 10 February, and written again on 11 March to report that a definite decision had been taken in his favour.<sup>24</sup> For the full context of that decision we can turn to Seripando’s diary. There he recorded that the discussion of the press had taken place on 10 March in a kind of “crisis consistory”, which had also appointed him and the Polish Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius legates to the recalled Council of Trent, and approved the creation of twelve new bishoprics in the Netherlands. Urgently requested by Philip II, this attempt to restructure and strengthen ecclesiastical authority would play an important part in provoking the nationalist revolts against Spanish rule after 1567. Reports of the fast-deteriorating religious and political situation in France were already under discussion. Two of the decisions taken at the consistory of 10 March determined the direction of Catholic strategy for the next century, and are counted among the turning points of European history. The third was the decision to summon Paulus Manutius to Rome, under the

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23. *PIM* pp. 155-6 = *PIEM* no. 1006 (Lodovico Beccadelli from Rome, 3 May 1561). *RLMI* pp. 361-2 = *PIEM* no. 1001 (Bernardi from Rome, 12 April 1561). Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, pp. 166-67. “Confirmatio Contractus”, 8 Aug. 1561.

24. *PIM* pp. 154-55 = *PIEM* no. 997 (Antonio Bernardi to Paulus, 20 March 1561). Julii Pogiani Suniensis *Epistolae et Orationes olim Collectae ab Antonio Maria Gratiano nunc ab Hieronimo Lagermarsinio . . . illustratae ac primum editae*, 4 vols., Romae 1756, vol. I, p. 329 = *PIEM* no. 996 (Seripando to Paulus from Rome, 11 March 1561).

contract now in the Ahmanson-Murphy collection. This was no nostalgic gesture towards the past by a few well intentioned humanist bishops.<sup>25</sup>

### THE FORCES BEHIND THE CONTRACT

But what part in papal strategy was the press to play? How could the rigorous control of publishing, demanded since mid-century by the Inquisition and later implemented in part by Paulus himself, be combined with the freedom of editorial action implied in the terms of the contract?<sup>26</sup> Of course the high hopes of 1561 were soon disappointed, as Barberi saw: but if we turn from the contract towards the men associated with drafting and carrying it into effect, we also find evidence of liberal forces from a much earlier date suddenly returning to prominence at the centre of ecclesiastical politics. Much scholarly interest has focused in recent years on those who called for reform on scriptural lines within the existing structure of the Church: described with inevitable vagueness as “Catholic reformers”, “Spirituali”, “Christian humanists”, “Erasmians” or “Illuminados”, their influence, apparent in many different European countries, has been traced well back into the fifteenth century. In Italy, attention has concentrated on the circle of Gasparo Contarini, both before and after his elevation to the Sacred College in 1535. Since his policy of negotiating with

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25. D. Gutiérrez, ed., “Hieronymi Seripandi Diarium de Vita sua (1513-1562)”, *Analecta Augustiniana* 26, 1963, pp. 139-40.

26. Paulus published two indices of prohibited books in 1564: *RAIA* 1564 (21) and (22): *UCLA* fasc. IIIb No. 539.

the Lutherans was disappointed at the Ratisbon dialogues of 1541 and since he died, utterly demoralised, just over a year later, it has been assumed that the ideals he had championed died with him. Some have held that they died before him, and that the meeting at Ratisbon was never more than a charade. In recent years historians have become more inclined to extend the influence of Evangelism, though they tend to treat it after 1542 as an underground movement which lacked support in high places. The story behind the Manutius contract raises some different, more intriguing possibilities.<sup>27</sup>

At the base of the document a different hand has added – “S. D. N. mandavit ut fieret contractus – Io. Cardinalis Moronus”, and below that, slightly curtailed by the crumbling of the paper, stands the signature “Gu. As. Car.lis Cam.” Interestingly, the two cardinals who signed on behalf of the papacy had fewer and much less obvious connections with the Aldine press than several colleagues. In 1556 Morone had received the dedication of an Italian translation of Cicero’s *Philippics* from its author, Hieronimo Ragazzoni: but Paulus Manutius, that most indefatigable

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27. Space is available only for general references: the importance of Contarini’s circle was stressed by P. McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, Oxford 1967; Elizabeth Gleason, “On the Nature of Sixteenth-Century Italian Evangelism: Scholarship 1953-1978”, *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 9, no. 3, 1978, pp. 3-25, gives a useful review of the first phase of scholarly interest. The life-span of evangelism was extended by Anne Schutte, “The Lettere volgari and the crisis of Evangelism in Italy”, *Renaissance Quarterly* 28 no. 4, 1975, pp. 639-88, and J. Martin, “Salvation and Society in Sixteenth-Century Venice: Popular Evangelism in a Renaissance City”, *Journal of Modern History* 60, 1988, pp. 205-33.

writer of ingratiating letters, seems to have contributed nothing to making the contact or developing it thereafter. During the 1560s he was able to deal with Morone on an informal basis, since they were both resident in Rome.<sup>28</sup> Before that, he may either have felt little need of Morone to secure patronage that was already available, or have avoided drawing too much attention to friendships which might breed enmities elsewhere.

Raised to the purple in 1542, Morone was one of the intellectuals picked by Paul III to promote dialogue among the Christian powers and prepare the way for the promised council. Scion of a Milanese professional family, he travelled widely in Germany during the 1530s and collaborated with Reginald Pole as legate to the early meetings at Trent. This training had given him a diplomat's sense of compromise which the less accommodating Paul IV found suspect in the tense atmosphere of the 1550s: Morone's arrest and imprisonment on suspicion of heresy in 1557 was a *cause célèbre*, his release on the collapse of that pope's Carafa regime in 1559 a sure sign that a change of policy was in the wind, and that a new meeting of the Council might be part of that change.<sup>29</sup> But to Paul IV – and perhaps to his secular namesake, Paulus Manutius – Morone was no more than a symbol of the greater principles and personalities who stood behind him.

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28. *RAIA* 1556 (5), UCLA fasc. IIIa No. 428. Ragazoni's letter, dated 20 February 1556, makes it clear that the acquaintance with Morone stemmed from his brother, not his publisher. Paulus reported personal dealings with Morone on several occasions: see *RAIA* pp. 526, 531-2 = *PIEM* nos. 1015, 15 July 1561, 1073, 24 July 1562.

29. Pastor vols. 14 and 15, and H. Jedin, *History of the Council of Trent*, English edn., 3 vols., London 1958-61.

“Cardinal Pole was the master, and Cardinal Morone, whom we have in Castel Sant’ Angelo, is the disciple”, Pope Paul once hissed in the ear of the Venetian ambassador, and the proceedings of the Inquisition at all times refer to Pole as the real suspect.<sup>30</sup> Whatever the truth of that charge, Reginald Pole had certainly exerted a master’s influence on the career and the ideals of Paulus Manutius. Paulus himself implied that the acquaintance went back to the start of his career, and almost to the date of the Englishman’s return to Padua in 1532: in an autobiographical letter written to Stefano Sauli, archbishop of Genoa, on 22 July 1553, he remembered being introduced to Pole by his neighbour Benedetto Rhamberti, secretary of the Venetian senate, and in 1541 he had noted that his friendship with Rhamberti was “in its eighth year”.<sup>31</sup>

Humanists’ claims to friendship with the great and good deserve to be treated with suspicion, especially when contained in letters written to other humanists at a time when the great man concerned appeared to be reaching the summit of his career. Even as Paulus wrote to Sauli, Northumberland’s attempted coup was collapsing as support flocked to Princess Mary in London. A Catholic restoration in England was certain: the only doubt was

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30. M. Haile, *The Life of Reginald Pole*, 2nd edn., London 1911, p. 520. W. Schenck, *Reginald Pole, Cardinal of England*, London 1950, pp. 135-6, stresses the political aspects of the pope’s enmity. But see M. Firpo/D. Marcatto, ed., *Il processo inquisitoriale del Cardinale Giovanni Morone – edizione critica*. Ist. stor. italiano per l’età moderna e contemporanea, 5 vols., vol. 1, 1981, p. 197. “Polus . . . doctor et complex Moroni”.

31. *PMEL* pp. 5-9 = *PIEM* no. 508, pp. 23-5 (Sauli): pp. 23-24, to Benedetto Rhamberti, dedication of Ciceronis *De Officiis* (*RAIA* 1541 (6), May 1541) = *PIEM* no. 323. Pole returned to Padua during the autumn of 1532: Haile, *Pole*, p. 93.

whether Reginald Pole would return from two decades of exile as cardinal-legate or prince-consort.<sup>32</sup> It would have been natural enough in the circumstances for Paulus Manutius to exaggerate the length and the warmth of his acquaintance with such a man: but as the evidence multiplies, it begins to look as if he treated this connection with the greatest possible discretion.

My research on this paper was progressing in its usual fits and starts when the Bodleian Library drew attention, in an exhibition entitled *Printing Greek – A European Enterprise*, to a manuscript of Eustratius' commentary on the *Ethics* of Aristotle, carrying the "ex-libris" of Reginald Pole and presented by him to New College, Oxford. The Greek text has been marked up as copy for the Aldine edition of 1536. Such evidence of editorial technique is always important even when it exists in a vacuum or when, as in this case, the material is of relatively small contemporary interest and the correction neither very extensive nor very penetrating.<sup>33</sup> But if we move outside the confines of codicology and bibliography, the evidence of the New College Eustratius has a significance far beyond its face value. Any reader of the Calendar of State Papers during the last hundred years would have had at his disposal all the references necessary to show that Pole's butler Bernardino Sandro was an active Greek editor for the printing

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32. G. Elton in *Cambridge Modern History* vol. 2, 1958, p. 246: Haile, Pole, pp. 383-4.

33. Ms. 240-1, now in the Bodleian. On this codex see Kristian Jensen, *Printing Greek – A European Enterprise. An Exhibition at the Bodleian Library January-April 1992*, p. 4, no. 3. In a letter of 7 May 1537, to Roberto Geronda, Paulus mentioned Pole's influence as one of the factors keeping him in Rome: PMLV fol. 46 = *PIEM* no. 294.

houses of Da Sabbio, Zanetti, and Manutius, as well as being one of Thomas Cromwell's liveliest and least suspecting sources of information. Bernardino writes of his own work on the texts of Basil of Caesarea and Gregory Nazianzenus only: they had, he complains to Thomas Starkey, "brought him little profit, but much weariness and anxiety". He knew that the text of Eustratius was in preparation well before it appeared and may have helped with it, though we know from his other reports to Thomas Starkey, from Stefano da Sabio's dedication of Basil to Gasparo Contarini, and even from the official copyrights that several collaborators were involved.<sup>34</sup> Bernardino's wider value as an informant has almost completely obscured his role as an editor and its importance to Pole. He invariably includes a charming tour round the sideshows, lectures, and markets of booming Venice along with his account of doings at the *palazzo* near San Tom and the list of the guests who came so frequently to burden him with yet another enormous party: first the Venetians Gasparo Contarini, Matteo Dandolo, and that unspeakable Alvise di Priuli, who always wanted to go somewhere else; then the scholars from Padua, especially Lazaro Bonamico and Benedetto Lampridio, whom he seems to have found more tolerable because they were quieter; then the French ambassador Georges de Selve and his entourage,

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34. British Library, Ms. Cotton, Nero B. VII fol. 125 (full version – mentions "Bernardino theatino" as collaborator): J. Gairdner, ed., *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry*, vol. 10, London 1887, pp. 194-95, no. 479 p. 394, no. 945. Fuller editorial detail, though without mention of names, in OPERA QUaedam BEATI BASILII CAESARIENSIS EPISCOPI: ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΣΑΒΙΟΣ Venetiis anno salutis MDXXXV Mense Novembri, fols. \* ii r-\* v r. Vital background in B. Collett, *Italian Benedictine Scholars and the Reformation: The Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1985, passim.



very Gallic and garrulous, never fewer than fifteen in number. It made the place like a court in exile, he wrote. One can imagine Cromwell's stoney reaction to that phrase.<sup>35</sup>

Bernardino was not party to the more secluded conversations that these visitors had with Pole, and his wish to be discrete is sometimes touching as well as a shade ridiculous. Without realising that he was doing more than keeping old friends like Lupset in touch, he gave his contacts in London all the information they needed to identify, name by name, the concentric circles of diplomats, clerics, and intellectuals which were revolving around Pole, and the publishing houses they were using to louden the whispers they left echoing in his ear. This topic incorporates issues of international intrigue which lie far beyond the bookish confines of this monograph, and I can only promise to return to it in a wider study: it is enough for now to say that bibliography formed part of the intrigue, and that Paulus Manutius was an important part of the intellectual circle.

Evidence from the 1530s is fairly plentiful, though sometimes so well concealed as to evade even the diligent Pastorello. We know that the French ambassador's secretary, Petrus Bunellus, lodged with Paulus in Venice. This gave him secure access to the literary salon that met at the embassy in palazzo Dandolo, preparing the ground for several dedications and opening the way to important further contacts. We know, for example, that Paulus became a vocal member of similar groups which assembled in Padua, where he certainly became familiar with Bonamico,

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35. Ms. Cotton, Nero B. VII fol. 111 v-r (the letter is reversed). The printed version in *Letters and Papers*, Vol. 9, pp. 167-68, no. 512, is abbreviated, and gives no explanation of the allusions to editorial work for the various presses.

Vicenzo Maggi, and Guglielmo Pazzi – all men who liked to mix their discussion of Greek tragic plots with something nearer the realities of their own time.<sup>36</sup> How close these devious avenues brought Paulus to Pole personally we have no means of telling. The cardinal certainly alluded to Gregory Nazianzenus in his writings on the unity of the Church, and it may not have been an accident that Paulus made the first of several extended visits to Rome in the spring of 1537 – just after Pole had been summoned to join the committee on ecclesiastical reform.<sup>37</sup>

If any letters did pass between the two during Pole's lifetime, Paulus covered their traces as carefully as he could. In 1545, when he published a Latin verse paraphrase of the Psalms by Pole's chaplain, Marcantonio Flaminio, he issued it as a plain text: this cannot really be explained by the hue and cry against the perilous *Beneficio di Cristo Crocifisso*, which did not reach significant volume for another two years, and – as we shall soon see – presents a strong contrast to Paul's treatment of Flaminio's work in 1565.<sup>38</sup>

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36. F. Grauff, ed., *Epistolae Petri Bunelli, Pauli Manutii, Christophori Longolii, Petri Bembi, Jacobi Sadoleti, Aonii Palearii, partim selectae, partim integrae*, Berne 1837, no. 38, p. 61: Paulus refers to Bunellus as "hospitem". Biblioteca del Seminario, Padova Ms. 71 fols. 6r-7r: letter of Bunellus, showing Paulus active in Paduan literary discussion at the latest by 4 June 1534. On Maggi, see A. Tausserat-Radel, *Correspondance Politique de Guillaume Pellicier, Ambassadeur de France à Venise 1540-2*, 2 vols., Paris 1899, vol. 1, p. 6, n. 1.

37. *Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli Cardinalis et aliorum ad Ipsum, Pars II*, Brixiae, Johanne Maria Rizzarda 1745, fol. 109.

38. *RAIA* 1545 (1), *UCLA* fasc. IIIa no. 291. On Flaminio's association with the *Beneficio* see T. Bozza, *Nuovi studi sulla Riforma in Italia – Il Beneficio di Cristo*, Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura 1976.

For at least two decades the Manutius press used the services of other familiars of Pole including Pierfrancesco Zino, canon of Verona, parish priest of Lonato, and a rather abstruse Brescian humanist named Iovita Rabicius, an expert on prose rhythms who edited Pliny's *Natural History* during the 1530s. It was never the Manutius editor who drew attention to the connection with Cardinal Pole. In 1558 Paulus issued an oration of Pole's in favour of peace between France and the emperor under the imprint of the Accademia Veneziana. The speech was four years out of date already, and may not have been published in Pole's lifetime.<sup>39</sup>

Pole's elevation to the Sacred College at the end of 1536 had made him "open enemy" to a king who now claimed leadership of his Church as well as his state. From that moment, the "Cardinal of England's" path was so set about with daggers that he and his friends often had to walk with cloaks drawn tightly across their faces. As he became a public arbiter of style, Paulus Manutius also learned to advance his private interests by dropping the right name at the right time. In a letter dated 1537 he told Roberto Geronda of the three friendly cardinals – Pole, Cervini, and Maffei – who were keeping him in Rome against his will. This letter has clearly been retouched, for even Cervini did not become a cardinal until 1538, and Maffei had to wait ten years

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On the rise of criticism, see Pastor vol. 14 pp. 472-3; Firpo/Marcatto, ed., *Il processo inquisitoriale*, cit. under n. 30, above, vol. 1, 1981, p. 185.

39. On Zino's service as an editor see Gregorii Nyssae *Hexameron* (RALA 1553 [1]); Joannis Damasceni *Orationes* (RALA 1554 [2]). On Rapicius, Iovitae Rapicii Brixiani *de Numero Oratorio Libri Quinque* (RALA 1554 [9], UCLA fasc. IIIa no. 398). For *Oratione della Pace*, see RALA Academia (15), UCLA fasc. IIIb no. 464.

after that. Others may well have been suppressed entirely. When Paulus wrote to Sauli in July 1553, Reginald Pole had just been appointed legate to a restored Catholic Church in England. Before that, the luckless cardinal had been the target of Henry VIII's assassins: soon after, he would draw the prying eyes of Paul IV's inquisitors.<sup>40</sup>

It is precisely these shifts in the capricious wind of patronage and fortune that the new document and its background help us to understand. Morone, Pole, and Cervini represented the intellectual wing of a Catholic Church that was squaring up to its own imperfections and seeking to remedy them. Their support meant acquaintance with leading scholars, privileged access to secluded libraries, commissions for authors like Gregory Nazianzenus. But little profit, occasionally serious risk went with the excitement. In apparent contrast, the other cardinal who signed the contract on the Church's behalf and the agent who drew it up were both creatures of the graft and nepotism associated with the vanishing age of the Borgia and the della Rovere. The rather flamboyant signature which he left on the curial documents of four decades serves to identify the second signatory as Guido Ascanio Sforza, cardinal-chamberlain from 1537 until his death in 1564, raised to the purple as one of two "cardinali nipoti" on 12 December 1534, two months after the election of his grandfather Alessandro Farnese as Paul III. He was sixteen and his better known

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40. *PMLV* fol. 46 = *PIEM* no. 294, cited under n. 33, above. Eubel vol. 3, pp. 29, 34, on Cervini's and Maffei's elevations. T. F. Mayer, "If Martyrs are to be exchanged with Martyrs: the Kidnapping of William Tyndale and Reginald Pole", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 81, 1990, pp. 286-308.

cousin, another Alessandro Farnese, just thirteen at the time. Both were studying at Bologna.<sup>41</sup> But while the younger boy revelled in his sudden prominence and became an able secretary of state before he was twenty, Guido Ascanio seems to have been so stunned that he spent the rest of his life as an expressionless face behind a sheaf of papers. In the 1540s the more indulgent ambassadors still noticed and described him as “a rather timid person”: by 1561 Seripando and Paulus referred to him simply as “the chamberlain” as if they were aware of what he did and appreciated it but could not put a name to his self-effacing presence.<sup>42</sup>

Paul III’s election established the Farnese of Parma as one of the great dynasties of sixteenth-century Italy, and perhaps the last to dispense patronage on the grand scale associated with the Medici, the Gonzaga and the Este of the previous generation. As a young man, the future Paul III had received part of his education in the palace of Lorenzo de’ Medici, and one of his first acts as pope was to commission Michelangelo as chief painter, architect and sculptor to decorate the altar wall of the Sistine Chapel. This double tradition of patronage and dynasticism makes it all the more significant to find twelve Aldine editions dedicated to four

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41. *RLMI* pp. 363 = *PIEM* no. 1002, 19 April 1561. *RAIA* pp. 526-7 = *PIEM* No. 1015, 15 July 1561. Eubel p. 23, on Sforza’s cardinalate. We are grateful to Dr Leonard Boyle for identifying the signature for us from MS. Vaticanus Latinus 13678, fo. 69r.

42. Summary of diplomatic reports on Guido Ascanio by Pastor vol. 11, pp. 139-40 n. 1: Seripando’s report to Paulus on 19 April 1561: *RLMI* p. 363, Ep. XXI = *PIEM* no. 1002. For a short biography see *CEBR* vol. 3, pp. 244-45.

different members of the Farnese dynasty over four generations.<sup>43</sup>

When he turned to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese for help in 1566, Paulus Manutius claimed that his links with the family were “now in their thirtieth year”, and that he had been introduced to the then young secretary of state by his friends Bernardino Maffei and Marcello Cervini. This points to 1537, when Paulus attached himself for a while to the household of Maffei, Farnese’s private secretary.<sup>44</sup> But the introduction made Paulus a dependant’s dependant, and since the Farnese household alone included some 600 members, it would have left him on the outer fringe of a very wide circle. Within its limits, this relationship served his turn well enough. Cervini and Maffei were made cardinals in 1538 and 1548: Paulus was consulted about Cervini’s plan to print the rarer Greek works in the Vatican library, and kept abreast of the research into Roman antiquities that interested Maffei. Annibale Caro, secretary to Alessandro’s father Pierluigi Farnese and a dabbler in Italian verse, made a useful intermediary as Pierluigi was attempting to attach himself to the imperial governor of Milan and spent much of his time in the north.<sup>45</sup>

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43. Pastor vol. 12 pp. 523-648 “Paul III as patron of arts”. Barbara M. Hallman, *Italian Cardinals, Reform and the Church as Property*, University of California Press 1985, treats the Farnese as a “new” family (p. 12), but emphasises their dynasticism (pp. 29, 149). Dedications were addressed by Paulus or his editors to Pope Paul, Alessandro, Ranuzio and Fabio.

44. Nohac pp. 268, 277-80, (Paulus to Alessandro Farnese, 14 March 1566) = *PIEM* no. 1260. *PMLV* fol. 46 = *PIEM* no. 294, puts Paulus in Rome in Maffei’s company on 7 May 1537.

45. Eubel pp. 29 (Cervini), 34 (Maffei). *PMEL* pp. 24-27 = *PIEM* No. 314, shows Paulus writing to Cervini about his plans during autumn 1539: A. Seghezzi, *Lettere del*

But there was a great difference in the degree of interest that these highly placed ecclesiastics showed in their scholarly pursuits. Shortly before 1540 Ranuzio Farnese appeared at Padua to join Romulo Cervini, so the younger brothers of two vital cardinals were twenty miles from Venice and in need of just the local guidance that Paulus had to offer. He seems to have found it an uphill task. Romulo was clearly not an academic success, and came in for some abrasive comment on both his Latin style and his manners.<sup>46</sup> But Ranuzio must have learned something from Lazaro Bonamico. He replied urbanely to a letter of congratulation on his elevation to the cardinalate, and expressed an interest in Paulus' commentary on the letters of Cicero, which was dedicated to him in 1547. Four other dedications followed by 1562.<sup>47</sup> Whether he dropped the name of Manutius in the ear of his elder brother we have no means of knowing. Alessandro wrote to Piero Vettori during the first weeks of 1561 to seek his advice on the plan to establish a press at Rome, and Ranuzio directed the antiquarian Fulvio Orsini to place the full resources of the Farnese library at Paulus' disposal.<sup>48</sup> The signature of Guido Ascanio, cardinal-

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*Comm. Annibal Caro*, Milan 1807, vol. 1, p. xxvi, shows Caro being used as an intermediary in late 1540. Extensive reference was made in Paulus' scholia on Cicero's letters (1540) to an "ancient manuscript" in the possession of Maffei.

46. *PMEL* p. 43 = *PIEM* No. 293 (Paulus writes from Rome to Romulo Cervini in Padua, May 1537): *PMEL* pp. 205-7 = *PIEM* no. 343, 25 June 1541 (?), (Cervini rebuked).

47. *PIM* pp 44-45, No. 397, Ranuzio Farnese to Paulus, 16 March 1546. Lazari Bonamici *Carmina*, cited under n. 1, above, pp. 102-3, Ep. 13. Eubel p. 33, on his cardinalate.

48. British Library, Additional Ms. 10275, Epistolario di Piero Vettori fo. 119, Farnese to Vettori 21 February 1561. Nohac pp. 282-83 = *PIEM* no. 1016, 20 July 1561.

chamberlain, set the official stamp on a connection between the house of Farnese and the Manutius press that was more than twenty years old. It had been very fully advertised: but the great men did little more than express polite sympathy, leaving the more positive action to subordinates.

Negotiations over the contract were handled by another Farnese dependant, Antonio Bernardi, bishop of Caserta, who is named in the text as Paulus' agent and was reporting progress to him on 20 March 1561. Better known to his contemporaries as Antonio della Mirandola, he had become Alessandro's adviser on philosophy in 1539 and soon made himself very obnoxious to rivals by his success in securing benefices worth 200 ducats annually and by his readiness to defend the most daring propositions. Using Aristotle's *Poetics* to prove that Virgil "knew little of poetry" was not likely to endear a speaker to his audience in mid-sixteenth-century Rome. He became bishop of Caserta in 1553, but never took up residence. The inquisitors duly noted that he had discussed invocation of the saints with Cardinal Morone: but if this was one of his daring propositions, he was not called upon to defend it.<sup>49</sup>

The signatures of Morone and Sforza personify aspects of patronage so different that Ludwig von Pastor treated the appointment of the men concerned as opposite slopes of a watershed in papal policy – first the pampered grandsons, then the reforming intellectuals. But the correspondence of 1560 and

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49. Firpo/Marcatto, ed. *Il processo inquisitoriale*, vol. 1, p. 183: "Fr. Antonius Bernardi de Mirandola... cum quo Moronus disserit de invocatione sanctorum". Pp. 261-62 for biographical notes. Donato Gianotti refers to his rapacious behaviour in letters of 1540: B. L. Add. MS. 10267, fols. 64, 76.



1561 does not suggest that either Morone or the Farnese cardinals played an exclusive, or even a dominant part in the discussion that identified publishing as a vital aspect of reformist strategy and Paulus Manutius as its obvious instrument. Seripando wrote just as respectfully of Cardinal Carpi, whom he had watched as a likely contender for the papal tiara in the conclave of 1559, and whom, as he probably knew, Paulus had contacted in earlier and less successful negotiations. Rodolfo Pio had been promoted in December 1536 along with Pole and Sadoletto among Paul III's second batch of intellectual cardinals, and confirmed almost immediately as nuncio to France. It was a clever choice. In 1531 Rodolfo had inherited the property and the influence of his uncle Alberto Pio, who had been active as French ambassador in Rome during the 1520s, and had died in Paris. Forty-five years earlier Alberto had been the pupil and patron of Aldus Manutius, who dedicated every volume of his great first edition of Aristotle to him and had just completed the series when, in 1500, Alberto bought the library of the polymath Giorgio Valla. In 1531 the 1,514 volumes passed to Rodolfo. It is not surprising that Paulus compared his position favourably with his father's. Besides the committed papal support which had always eluded Aldus, he could count on old friends to rally round him.<sup>50</sup>

Though Antonio Bernardi acted as his agent, Paulus' principal mentor and contact in the dealings with the Holy See during 1561 was the Augustinian Girolamo Seripando, another old ally who

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50. See Eubel p. 25 on Rodolfo Pio's elevation. On his library, Cardinal Giovanni Mercati, *Codici Latini Pico Grimani Pio e di altra biblioteca ignota del secolo XVI esistente nell'Ottoboniana*, Studi e Testi 75, Città del Vaticano 1938, pp. 38-74. For a short biography of Alberto see *CEBR* vol. 3 pp. 86-8.

represented still older interests. Intellectually, Seripando was a strange contrast to the Aristotelian tradition of Alberto Pio and the biblical theology of Pole and Morone. As a popular preacher he was invited to give the Lenten sermons of 1532 in Venice, and in his diary he noted the displeasure of his provincial vicar when he stole a few days of literary distraction in Padua. Paulus, who was frequenting the intellectual circles of the university and expanding his useful acquaintance under the guidance of Benedetto Rhamberti, almost certainly met him on this occasion.<sup>51</sup> When he attempted to develop his contact about two years later, Paulus showed not the slightest interest in Seripando's theological knowledge: he wanted emendations to the text of Cicero, and other Latin authors of an even more secular quality, such as Plautus, Terence, and Catullus. In the first of two unusually personal letters, written on 8 March 1534, he referred rather obliquely to having received "just two days ago" a copy of some previously unpublished elegies of the Neapolitan poet Jacopo Sannazaro. The source is not specified. But the edition of Sannazaro's poems which Paulus printed under the date 1533 contained twenty-four pages of odes and elegies missing from the earlier edition of 1528, besides attributions of several poems to other authors and an apology to the reader for the hurried corrections made essential by the last minute arrival of new material "when the book was almost complete".<sup>52</sup> A year later Paulus was more informative. He

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51. "Diarium", cited under n. 25, p. 17. On Paulus' activity at this time see citations under n. 36, above.

52. *RAIA* pp. 520-2 = *PIEM* no. 282. *De Partu Virginis*, fols. 67r-79v carry the poems missing from the 1528 edition, and a note "Lectori" on fol. 99v corrects the attribution of the Lament on the Slaughter of the Innocents and some

apologised to Seripando for the delay in publishing Sannazaro's works, set the blame squarely on his unhelpful uncles, and asked if a manuscript of Grattius' poem on hunting could be found among Sannazaro's papers. Grattius' *Cynegeticon*, one of the last important Aldine first editions of the classics, had appeared about a month earlier. Its editor, the Silesian Georgius Logus, mentioned using an apograph of the manuscript which Sannazaro had discovered in France, and Paulus was hoping to follow this lead towards the archetype itself. Seripando was one of his first and most active editorial contacts.<sup>53</sup>

The letter of 10 March 1535 reveals one of those associations which the correspondents themselves sometimes preferred to conceal from an inquisitive rival or a disapproving authority like Seripando's vicar general. Though it seems to have been the last exchange between them for nearly three decades, it also reveals continuities in Aldine editorship that reach back to the turn of the century, and forward to the Council of Trent. Distinguished both as an Italian and a neo-Latin poet, Sannazaro had combined his diplomatic duties during the first years of the sixteenth century with a search for manuscripts in the monastic libraries of France. Aldus evidently heard something of his quest, for in 1502 he dedicated to Sannazaro an account of travels in the Black Sea by

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of the fisherman's Eclogues. *RAIA* 1533 (11); *UCLA* fasc IIIa no. 229. The edition should probably be dated in late February 1533 (Venetian style after 1533), its appearance to March 1534.

53. *RAIA* p. 523 = *PIEM* No. 288, 10 March 1535. The edition of Grattius (*RAIA* 1534 [1]) carries a long dedication to Anton Fugger, which mentions Sannazaro's manuscript on fol. a3v. See C. Vecce, "Aldo Manuzio e la scoperta dei manoscritti" in *Les Humanistes et l'Antiquité Grecque*, ed. M. Ishigami-Jagolnitzer, Paris 1989, p. 153.

a Genoese merchant, probably in the hope of securing access to the new material. The plan misfired. Another Venetian publisher, Bernardino da Vercelli, had already issued a pirated edition of Sannazaro's own works, and though Aldus tried to pacify him in the dedication of a properly authorised text of *Arcadia* in 1514, the disgruntled writer never trusted Venetian printers again. But his fellow-Neapolitan Seripando recorded his death in 1530 and secured access to his papers. The lost Latin poets and the new experimental verse dialogues in Neapolitan *patois* linked the Augustinian to the publisher, and played their part in Paulus' name being pressed forward in the discussions of February 1561.<sup>54</sup>

A little further reading through the vital exchange of letters between Paulus and Seripando would force the names of other interested cardinals on our attention: Vitelli, Scoto, and Da Mula were associated with Morone as a sub-committee on publications; Borromeo acted as a sympathetic intermediary with his uncle the pope; Sirleto was thoroughly acquainted with the Roman libraries. Perhaps we may spare ourselves the embarrassment, for whatever their importance, these men were relative newcomers to Aldine patronage, and the significance of the sheet in the Ahmanson-Murphy collection is clear enough already. It emphasises a continuous tradition of intellectual aspiration and patronage where Renouard found a sudden change of direction. It blocks off all the convenient arguments that Barberi used to explain why Paulus' high hopes of

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54. For the text of Aldus' approaches to Sannazaro see G. Orlandi, ed., *Aldo Manuzio editore*, 2 vols., Milan 1975, nos. XLI, LXXXVIII. On the background C. Vecce, *Jacopo Sannazaro in Francia – Medioevo e Rinascimento* 69, Padova: Antenori 1988. For a short biography and further references, *CEBR* vol. 3 pp. 193-94.

Rome were so swiftly disappointed: far from overpitching his claims or lacking the support to back them up, Paulus got everything he asked for above a signed guarantee of support from papal authorities represented by the most lavish clerical dynasty in Italy. Finally, the array of names associated with the contract raises very awkward questions about the whole nature of papal policy and the direction that the Catholic reformation was taking. If the promulgation of Paul IV's index in 1558 represented a triumph for the principle of censorship, why was a grand alliance of humanist cardinals summoning the most celebrated Italian publisher of secular classics to Rome?<sup>55</sup> The editorial strategy of the Aldine press in the 1560s has much wider implications. The appearance of the Ahmanson-Murphy document forces us to face the responsibility of finding some clearer answers.

#### *THE EDITORIAL STRATEGY OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION*

The death of Paul IV also meant the fall of his Carafa relations, and it is intriguing to find that one of the architects of their destruction was the unobtrusive Guido Ascanio Sforza.<sup>56</sup> Alongside the political manoeuvring there developed an emotional and intellectual revulsion from many of the policies associated with the Carafa regime and a realisation that the development of Calvinist doctrine was creating opportunities, as well as threats, by dividing the Protestant world against itself. In 1558 the Polish cleric Stanislaus Hosius, a graduate of Padua and yet another

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55. Grendler, *Roman Inquisition* pp. 115-27.

56. Pastor vol. 15 p. 135.

student of Lazaro Bonamico, had railed against the disagreement of Wittenberg and Geneva on the crucial issue of Justification. In private correspondence he criticised papal government for neglecting the opportunities offered by printing, and clamping down so ruthlessly that theologians who wanted to study had to wait for Protestants to publish the books they needed.<sup>57</sup> The entries in Seripando's personal diary after his arrival in Rome in the autumn of 1560 make interesting reading: Cardinals Farnese, Borromeo, and Pio went out of their way to welcome him; discussions involved reducing the list of banned books, and at the same time seizing the initiative in a programme of Catholic publications.<sup>58</sup> Establishing the immensely prestigious Manutius press in Rome would give those publications an invaluable appeal. When Cardinal Otto Truchses of Augsburg wrote to inform Hosius of Paulus' arrival in Rome, he had no doubt that a new text of the Bible would be among the first projects.<sup>59</sup>

Inevitably, the longer perspective of history has linked Paulus' move with the publication first of the decrees of the Council of Trent, then with the revised catechisms and service books produced after 1566 under a monopoly that proved to be unworkable. These liturgical and canonical texts were certainly significant, and perhaps more significant in their impact than their number. Paulus

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57. *De Expresso Dei Verbo libellus*, Antwerp: Jo. Stelsius 1561, fo. 28v. There is a Viennese edition of 1558, which I have not seen. His views on censorship and publishing are quoted by Seripando in a letter to Paulus: *RALA* p. 527 = *PIEM* no. 1030, 6 October 1561. He is mentioned as a friend and pupil by Bonamico in *Carmina et Epistolae*, cited under n. 1, above, pp. 83-84.

58. "Diarium" pp. 131-37.

59. *Pogiani Epistolae*, cited under n. 24 above, vol. 1, pp. 269-75.

printed nineteen editions of the *Canones et Decreta*, nine of the catechism, three of the breviary. But the total of 161 Aldine imprints known between 1562 and Paulus' retirement from Rome in 1570 reveals that this sub-group of 31 editions was only one aspect of a wider editorial strategy.

More can be learned of this broader picture from the twenty theological or patristic editions which Paulus printed in Rome before 1566, some of them in anticipation of the conciliar decrees. Curt Bühler pointed forty years ago to the editorial care taken over these texts, and his views are underlined by the exceptional quality of their presentation – a generous folio or quarto format, wide margins, monumental title pages with huge “dolphin and anchor” emblems giving maximum publicity both to Aldine press and its new location. What Bühler missed was the programmatic nature of the texts themselves, and the degree to which that programme represented a return to the authors, the editors, and the ideals of the 1530s. Any writer was bound to, until the reappearance of the lost contract made it possible to reconstruct the group of humanist prelates who had committed themselves to the whole project.<sup>60</sup>

On 1 August 1561, Seripando wrote to Morone from Trent, urging him to search through Reginald Pole's papers for his tract on councils, which would be the best possible publicity for the new gathering and an answer to Protestant attacks on its authority. Paulus himself was to write “one of those prefaces of his” – Seripando knew that polished Latin would commend the book to a larger circle of readers. Paulus sent a draft for his approval on 25 November, and early in the following year 220 copies of a very

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60. “Paulus Manutius and his first Roman printings”, *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 46, 1952, pp. 209-14.

large press-run of 1700 were taken to Trent by Cardinal Borromeo's chaplain, clearly for distribution to the assembled fathers. Cooperation between the patrons and the editor was close, but allowed a degree of latitude. Paulus obeyed Seripando's suggestion that he say something of Pole's conversion from secular philosophy to theology, and corrected the detail that he had not been promoted to a cardinalate before he left Padua: but he ignored the hint that he give less space to the pope's invitation to himself. The first three pages of the introduction dealt with nothing else. Perhaps Paulus remembered that the contract gave him full responsibility for the day to day running of the operation. But his first Roman editions were designed and distributed as propaganda to reinstate Pole, his ideas, and his associates. From the very beginning his programme of publication was directed by a group of cardinals whose careers reached back to Pole's time.<sup>61</sup>

The press relied on three principal editors: Johannes Gabius of Verona, who was a chaplain of Cardinal Vitelli, one of the commission of four appointed to assist Morone; Petrus Galesinus, who spoke of Borromeo as his "patron"; and Marianus Victorius, who had passed from Pole's service to Morone's. One of the five

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61. H. Jedin, *Girolamo Seripando: sein Leben und Denken im Geisteskampf des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols, Würzburg 1937, vol. 1 pp. 632-33, Ep. 51 (Seripando to Morone): *RAIA* pp. 527-28 = *PIEM* No. 1037 (Paulus to Seripando, sending draft): pp. 528-30, no. 1040 (Seripando's comment, 11 December 1561). The result of the editorial activity can be seen in Reginaldi Poli *De Concilio*, fols. A2r-A4v (*UCLA* fasc. IIIb no. 503). On the size of this and later press-runs see below, p. 56, and notes. *Concilium Tridentinum, Diariorum, Actorum, Epistolarum, Tractatum Nova Collectio, Tomus Decimus Tertius*, Friburgi Brisgoviae 1967, pp. 563-79, shows that discussions in January and February 1562 were devoted largely to procedure.



editions prepared by Galesinus was a translation of Theodoretus' commentary on the *Song of Songs*; Galesinus had inherited the project from Franciscus Zinus, canon of Verona and a familiar of Pole's. The Jesuit Julius Pogianus, member of an order whose cardinal-protector was Alessandro Farnese, made it clear in his introduction to Chrysostom's *De Virginitate* that the plan to have the work translated had originated with Cardinal Cervini, and been taken up after his death by Pole. Behaviour in the nunneries had supplied a major theme in an address to the Council by Lodovico Beccadelli on 29 January 1562.<sup>62</sup>

How far these editors can be regarded as "humanists" whose values would still have been recognisable to an earlier generation is a delicate point. The rhetoric of their introductions and dedications preserved little of the confidence and optimism expressed by Erasmus or Lefvre d'Étaples in the second and third decades of the century. Erasmus was an enemy, his name denounced and his crimes itemised. Marianus Victorius designed his text of Jerome's Letters as an attack on Erasmus' version, which he dismissed as the product of craft and ignorance, poison disguised as wholesome fare. By comparing Erasmus' text with manuscripts in the Vatican, Brescia and Naples, he claimed to have corrected 1500 passages.<sup>63</sup> Though few gave the polemic such a personal edge, the same abrasive, combative tone can be found everywhere. The contract itself wrote of books being "corrupted by the

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62. In *Canticum Canticorum Explanatio*, fol. a3r (UCLA fasc. IIIb no. 516). Chrysostomi *De Virginitate*, fol. a4v (UCLA fasc. IIIb no. 505). On Beccadelli's address see *Concilium*, cited in previous n., pp. 580-82.

63. Hieronymi Stridonienensis *Epistolae et Libri contra Haereticos*, vol. 1 fols. a2r-a5r (UCLA fasc. IIIb no. 543/1).

heretics". Perversion of the scriptures was the most deadly weapon of the heretics, wrote Gabius in his introduction to Theodoretus' commentary on Ezekiel during 1563: indeed "wicked writings" had harmed the Church more than Nero, Domitian and all the persecutors put together, echoed Galesinus in his dedication of the same father's commentary on the *Song of Songs*.<sup>64</sup>

Yet in the same dedications the same editors showed themselves prepared to use the language of humanism and invoke its methods. In his dedication of *De Sacramento Confessionis* to Pius IV, Marianus Victorius stated what was essentially the Erasmian doctrine of a return to the uncontaminated sources of the Christian faith. Heretics had too long been allowed to claim that theirs was true, ancient doctrine "received from Christ and the apostles", while the Catholic Church clung to "fictions devised a mere three centuries ago by the schoolmen". His answer was to prove that the sacrament of confession had been approved by writers from St. Matthew to Aquinas, and that the continuity of Catholic doctrine could be established by the very methods which critics had sought to use against it.<sup>65</sup> Paulus and Galesinus both elaborated the themes of continuity and example in dedications of 1563. With Germany and France ablaze, Paulus wrote to Cardinal Borromeo, the Church must learn the lessons and follow the path of its early heroes, like Bishop Cyprian of Carthage, who had faced similar crises. Leaders must feel themselves standing as their predecessors had stood face to

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64. In *Ezechielem Prophetam Commentarius*, fol. a2v (UCLA fasc. IIIb no. 517). In *Canticum Canticorum* fol. a2r.

65. The work is described in UCLA fasc. IIIb no. 508. Pp. 5-15 contain Victorius' introduction, pp. 17-23 list his authorities from St. Matthew to Aquinas.

face with Arians and Pelagians: they must state their opinions firmly, but above all convert by example. What had overcome the persecutors in the end, Galesinus assured Boromeo, was the constancy and sanctity of the early fathers: once their successors could copy that, the heretics would be “unable to withstand the light of the Church”.<sup>66</sup> The aim was still to persuade, not to coerce.

Titles were selected and introductions crafted to emphasise the twin themes of constancy in belief and triumph in adversity. The eleven patristic texts published between 1562 and 1566 presented writers from the Church’s age of struggle between the fourth and sixth centuries – Theodoretus, Gregory the Great and Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Eucherius of Lyons, John Chrysostom, Salvianus of Marseilles, Maximus of Tyre – and concentrated on themes vital to its doctrine. Virginité was chosen for defence because it had “always been attacked by heretics”. The role of the fathers in the councils which had marked each great crisis in the Church was kept well to the fore, and Pope Pius was saluted as their successor. The tone of the rhetoric, and some of the passages on which it was based – Cyprian’s allusion to the pope as “Brother”, for example – exactly followed examples used by Pole against Henry VIII in 1537.<sup>67</sup> The impact was highly acclaimed. As early as June 1562, the Hungarian Zsambok wrote to Paulus of his delight at the first volume of Theodoretus and

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66. Cypriani Episcopi *Opera* (1563), fols. a2v-a4v (*UCLA* fasc. IIIb no. 518); Salviani Massiliensis *De vero Iudicio et Providentia Dei Homiliae* (1564), fol. a4r (*UCLA* fasc. IIIb no. 530).

67. Gregorii Nyseni *Liber de Virginitate* (1562) fol. a4r (*UCLA* fasc. IIIb no. 506). Allusions to Cyprian in *Reginaldi Poli Cardinalis Britannici ad*

Pole's treatise on councils. Even the Protestants, he foretold, would be unable to resist such elegance of script and language, and would reach eagerly for the next volume. It was the answer to Hosius' fear that the only available means of higher theological study came from heretical sources.<sup>68</sup> If this was not a humanist programme in the strict sense, it invoked the humanist method of purification through an accurate study of the sources and an emulation of the examples which those texts contained. It aimed to achieve that through the circulation of books, not their suppression.

The seventy-four classical or humanist texts published by the Manutius press during the 1560s have attracted little attention, in spite of the fact that they account for nearly half its total output. Compared to their great predecessors, they appear to deserve little. Only one outstanding new project was brought to fruition: it derived from the scientific, rather than the more strictly "humanist" or literary tradition of antiquity, and it was a commissioned work for which the translator paid Paulus a fee of 35 scudi. The publications of 1562 included a translation of Ptolemy's *De Analemmate*, a treatise on solar clocks rediscovered by Marcello Cervini and passed for translation to Federicus Commandinus. The printed version was a first edition illustrated with ninety-eight complex woodcuts of the various sun-dial designs discussed. Dedicated to Ranuzio Farnese, it offers further proof of the continuing interest of that great dynasty in the Manutius

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*Henricum Octavum Britanniae regem pro Ecclesiae Unitatis Defensione Libri Quatuor*, Romae: apud Antonium Bladum Asulanum 1537, fol. LXII. Compare Cypriani Episcopi *Opera*, fol. 248v.

68. *PIM* p. 179 = *PIEM* no. 1070, 13 Kal Julii 1562. See n. 57, above.

press.<sup>69</sup> Most of the other editions were new issues of well established texts such as the works of Cicero that Paulus had brought out in the 1540s, or the versions of Terence and Horace that Muretus had prepared for him towards the end of the following decade. Statistics suggest a careful correlation of supply and demand: twenty-five editions of various works of Cicero, five each of Terence and Horace, three of Virgil and Sallust. Most were printed in Venice by the younger Aldus, and they became more numerous the less satisfied Paulus felt with his situation in Rome: by 1570 only two of twenty editions published under the Aldine imprint were produced in Rome, and neither was theological. This naturally creates an impression that the Manutii treated classics as an alternative rather than a complement to theology or canon law, and makes it all the more necessary to insist that Paulus and his allies had originally hoped for an integrated programme.

The contract referred to “libri di ogni sorte”. Within a month of his arrival in Rome Paulus was involved in a brisk correspondence with the antiquarian Fulvio Orsini, whom Ranuzio Farnese had instructed to offer the full resources of the family library. They planned editions of Herodotus “and other similar books, for”, added Paulus, “this was the design that brought me to Rome in the first place”.<sup>70</sup> Few of these exotic plans came to fruition: but some of the less ambitious texts reveal the thinking that lay behind the programme. During the winter of 1563-64 Paulus published Sallust’s *Bellum Catilinae*, under the Roman imprint, with an introductory letter from his son, Aldo the younger. The dedication was to the Jesuits. Nothing in his visit to Rome had so impressed

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69. *RAIA* 1562 (13); *UCLA* fasc. IIIb no. 512.

70. Nollac pp. 282-83 = *PIEM* no.1016, 20 July 1561.

him, wrote Aldo, as the “dignity and order” of the new Jesuit college: he paid tribute to the work of Ignatius, and to the achievement of his successors in distant corners of the world; since he knew from his father that they had Sallust “constantly in their hands” and expounded his work to ever growing audiences, he was dedicating the edition to them. The dedication showed a shrewd business sense, as well as a commitment to humanist learning as a weapon of religious revival. During 1551, its first year of teaching, the Jesuit college in Rome had enrolled 300 students: by 1562 this figure had, indeed, risen to 900, by 1594 to 1,500.<sup>71</sup> A range of “safe” classics was to be placed at the disposal of a militant teaching order, and the unexciting reprints were an essential part of the wider religious programme.

Almost buried among these now rather colourless ranks of uncontroversial reprints are a few strange relics. Perhaps they were intended as reminders of an earlier and more tolerant age of humanism: certainly they were included to defend or re-establish reputations, and were not thrown in by accident. The bibliography of Marcantonio Flaminio’s Latin paraphrases of the Psalms can only be understood when one has followed the shifts in his reputation during the eighteen years that separate the two Aldine versions. A first edition appeared during 1545, setting the 272 folios in the standard italic type for literary texts, under a formal dedication to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. At that time Flaminio was a fashionable Latin poet in Cardinal Pole’s household at

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71. *RALA* 1563 (16): *UCLA* fasc. IIIb no. 527. The titlepage carries the date 1563, and Aldo’s letter is dated 1 October 1563: the colophon is of 1564. On the rise of the Collegio Romano see P. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy - Literacy and Learning 1300-1600*, Johns Hopkins 1989, pp. 371-72.

Viterbo, and the *Beneficio di Christo*, which he had helped to prepare for publication about three years earlier, was a controversial but still recent tract to which only the best informed could attach authors' names.<sup>72</sup> By the time of Flaminio's death in 1550 the *Beneficio* had run through five editions and become the main focus of alarm about the spread of Protestant ideas in Italy. Even if it never reached the total of 40,000 copies claimed for it by one contemporary, the fact that only one of those printed survived the purifying fires of the Inquisition gives an index of the fears which the book provoked. The witnesses called during Morone's trial in 1557 linked the names of Flaminio and Benedetto da Mantova as co-authors, or author and editor: but already Pope Paul IV had declared that he would like to dig the dead poet up and burn him.<sup>73</sup>

Against this hostile background the official organ of the Catholic revival produced, during 1564, an extended and greatly improved version of Flaminio's work on the Psalms. The titlepage boasted that thirty new paraphrases had been added to the earlier edition. Flourishing woodcut decorations in prominent upper margins and a range of ornamental capitals presented the book to

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72. *RAIA* 1545 (1) and 1564 (2): *UCLA* fasc. IIIa no. 291, IIIb no. 528. For comment on the background see Carol Maddison, *Marcantonio Flaminio, Poet, Humanist and Reformer*, London 1965, pp. 152-53.

73. For the text and related documents see Benedetto da Mantova, *Il Beneficio di Cristo, con le versioni del secolo XVI – documenti e testimonianze a cura di Salvatore Caporetto*, Florence: Sansoni 1972. For detailed if partisan comment, T. Bozza, *Nuovi studi sulla Riforma in Italia – Il Beneficio di Cristo*, Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura 1976, esp. pp. 59-77 on early reactions. On Flaminio and the part of the *Beneficio* in Morone's trial see Firpo/Marcatto, ed., *Il processo inquisitoriale*, cited under n. 30, above, vol. 1, pp. 185-87. On Benedetto, Collett, *Benedictine Scholars and the Reformation*, cited under n. 34, above, esp. pp. 156-85.

the reader in a far more attractive style. Finally, the Vulgate text, absent from the 1545 edition, was printed above Flaminio's paraphrase to emphasise his scrupulous adherence to the established version. The new elements produced a book of 360 folios, 88 longer than the first edition, and selling at 1.5 lire.<sup>74</sup> Everything was designed to prove that the contents and the author were orthodox, acceptable, and even more elegant than readers had thought in the 1540s. Whether Cardinal Pole and Flaminio understood the implications of publishing *Il Beneficio* in the 1540s is a debatable point:<sup>75</sup> whether Paulus and his supporters understood the implications of reinstating Flaminio and Pole in the 1560s is not. They can have had no possible doubt that they were reviving some aspects of the humanist programme associated with their deceased friends.

The same kind of subtle publicity could be used to advertise the living as well as reinstate the dead. Very early in 1565 Paulus published as a separate edition, in small quarto format, a letter of congratulation to his Hungarian friend Andrea Dudith on his recent promotion from the bishopric of Knin to that of Pécs or Fünfkirchen. The content amounts to a condensed, laudatory biography whose details can be filled out from earlier correspondence.

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74. *UCLA* fasc. IIIb no. 528. Fols. \*2r, \*4v and 1r carry decoration in the upper margin. Fifteen ornamental capitals are used. The edition is quoted at 1.5 lire in the Stock book of Bernardo Giunti: *UCLA* Ms 170/622 (unpaginated – entry under “Libri in umanità” M.)

75. Bozza, *Nuovi studi*, cited under n. 73, above, esp. pp. 111-12, argues forcibly that Pole and his entourage must have realised the implications of the *Beneficio*, and that they intended to reform the Church on Calvinist lines. The direction of the present study obviously makes it impossible for me to accept this conclusion.



Dudith had been introduced to Pole's circle as a very young man, while the cardinal was in retreat at the Benedictine house of Maguzzano on Lake Garda, awaiting the turn of events in England as Edward VI sank towards his death in the early months of 1553.<sup>76</sup> Pole seems to have been attracted by Dudith's personality and was probably interested in the potential of his mixed Italian and Hungarian background: he sent him to Paulus for tuition in Latin prose, and attached him as a secretary to his own legatine mission. It is another of those almost submerged episodes which reveals how close the identity of interest between the cardinal and the humanist had become. During the next few years Dudith visited France, Flanders and England, becoming thoroughly integrated in Pole's circle and as thoroughly steeped in humanist ideology.<sup>77</sup> In 1558 he returned to Padua and spent the next two years in an active if informal circle of classical philologists, while the inquisitors at Morone's trial pursed their lips over his uncertain loyalties.<sup>78</sup> But the forces which brought Paulus to Rome and Pole's name back to favour restored Dudith's fortune as well. When the Council was

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76. *RAIA* 1564 (17): the edition is probably dated *more Veneto*, as Dudith was presented to Pécs on 9 February 1565: Eubel p. 298. The letter, *PIEM* no. 1157, can also be found in *PMEL* pp. 347-50, though Dudith's name has been asterisked for reasons that will be explained later. On Dudith's introduction to Pole see Pierre Costil, *André Dudith, Humaniste Hongrois, 1533-1589: sa Vie, son oeuvre et ses Manuscrits Grecs*, Paris 1935, pp. 60-62.

77. *PMLV* fols. 38v-40r = *PIEM* nos. 513-14, both of 7 September 1553. Costil, *Dudith*, pp. 64-70.

78. On this group see M. Antonii Mureti *Epistolae ad Optimarum Editionum Fidem Accurate Editae*, Lipsiae: apud Carolum Tauchnitium 1838: further treatment in Costil, *Dudith*, pp. 80-100. On inquisitorial suspicion see Firpo/Marcatto, ed., *Il processo inquisitoriale*, vol. 1 pp. 179, 236.

recalled Emperor Ferdinand needed an eloquent, resilient, and above all polyglot representative to further his interests and keep Vienna informed of developments in Trent. The twenty-eight-year-old Dudith was raised to the bishopric of Knin in December 1561, and played a vital role as intermediary between the legate Morone and Ferdinand as the fathers drafted their final decrees during the later months of 1563.<sup>79</sup> When he was promoted to the see of Pécs, Paulus obviously felt that it was time to advertise his own, and Pole's, contribution to the rise of this promising young humanist, reformer and diplomat. Less than two years later he was regretting his decision: the letter is now one of the rarest of all Aldine editions.

The last and strangest of these relics in the humanist programme of the 1560s was a mixed volume of prose and occasional verse, the works of an author rather appropriately named Pietro Bizzarri. Indeed the strangest aspect of the whole incident is that no one seems to have troubled, either in 1565 or since, to ask how or why the official press of the reformed Catholic Church came to handle such an edition. Flaminio and Dudith were the objects of rumour, innuendo and inquisitorial whispering. Bizzarri was a committed Lutheran who had fled to Germany by 1546 and joined the distinguished throng of continental exiles in Edwardian England by 1549. He was granted a fellowship of St John's College, Cambridge, where he got to know Bucer and Ochino: he moved in the staunchly Protestant circle of Francis Russell, earl of Bedford, an exile in Mary's reign and governor of the dangerous city of Berwick in the first years of Elizabeth's. Bizzarri seems to have followed the earl through it all. When he left England in 1564

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79. Eubel p. 333. Costil, *Dudith*, pp. 107-12.

he did so to improve his fortunes, and on the understanding that he would supply information to Cecil. Over the next four years he sent almost weekly letters to London from Venice or Padua. The author who brought his manuscript to the publishing house in Venice early in 1565 came as a committed spy, as well as a known heretic.<sup>80</sup>

Neither Paulus nor his son was in Venice at the time, and they may perhaps have been unaware of the dispatches to London: even if they were informed of them, they may not have been very concerned. Bizzarri picked up little more than street-gossip about Turkish intentions or the names of Protestant suspects dragged before local inquisitors: it was far less sensitive than the information that Paulus himself had been passing to Cardinal Accolti twenty years earlier from his contacts within the Council of Ten. That Council, which dealt with all matters of public security and was at the height of its influence in Venetian public life, never troubled to investigate Bizzarri's activity.<sup>81</sup> But in the printed text the author's loyalties were declared openly. There was a treatise on the duties of the just ruler, dedicated to the heretic queen Elizabeth herself: there was a daring poem recommending

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80. Petri Bizzarri *Varia Opuscula*: *RAIA* 1565 (13): *UCLA* fasc. IIIb no. 548. M. Firpo, *Pietro Bizzarri, esule italiano del Cinquento*, Turin 1971. N. Barker, "The Perils of Publishing in the Sixteenth Century: Pietro Bizzarri and William Parry, Two Elizabethan Misfits", in *England and the Continental Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J. B. Trapp*, ed. E. Chaney and P. Mack, Bury St. Edmunds 1990, pp. 125-41.

81. *RLM* pp. 319-21, Ep. CXII = *PIEM* no. 363, 2 January 1543/44, Paulus to Benedetto Accolti, giving details of imperial offers to Venice. The 102 dispatches from Bizzarri summarised in *Calendar of State Papers – Venetian*, are bland in comparison.

the earl of Leicester to her as a consort; there were numerous compliments to different members of the English court. We have already seen evidence that the editorial programme as a whole was integrated, and we can watch Paulus planning in Rome the details of texts that were later published in Venice. It is possible, but only just possible, to believe that neither he nor Aldo noticed anything unusual in Bizzarri's work.

A commentator on the political overtones in Venice has conjectured, rather coyly, that the authorities were prepared to condone such covert activity now that contact through properly accredited ambassadors had been lost. On a religious level did Bizzarri perhaps fit into the fantasies of those like Galesinus and Zsambok, who dreamed of luring wanderers back into the Catholic fold through sheer force of argument and elegance of presentation? Was this little edition a mere windfall, or was it a calculated return to more liberal values, the first fruits of a massive work of humanist reconversion?<sup>82</sup>

We shall never know, for the problems discussed before the consistory which took the decision to call Paulus to Rome – mass desertion of the Church in France, nationalist discontent embittered by religious dissidence in the Low Countries – were soon flaring into open war that destroyed all chance of dialogue. And so the Aldine editions of the early 1560s have been absorbed into their broader, more polemical background, their humanist content ignored, and their significance for papal policy neglected. Yet the humanist bias is there – in the discussion of a polyglot Bible, in

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82. *Varia Opuscula*, fols. a2v (dedication to Elizabeth); 126r (Dudley "dignum principe"). Firpo, *Bizzarri*, p. 49, suggests that Pietro's activity in Venice was condoned.

the choice of classical, patristic and modern texts, in the rhetoric and typography used to present them, and perhaps most of all in the critical method used to prepare them for the press. We have already looked at the pains taken by Morone and his supporters in choosing Pole's writings as the first works to be published and suggesting the points that should be emphasised in Paulus' introduction. The texts themselves exist in two versions, the first including a ten-line list of errata which are in some cases corrected by hand, and are removed entirely from the text of the second version.<sup>83</sup>

The first folio editions of the Decrees of the Council of Trent published in March and April 1564 present an even more striking case, which can be followed to the letter in the Ahmanson-Murphy collection. In the first version, twenty-nine passages were marked for correction by the secretaries of the Council Angelus Massarelus, Marcantonius Peregrinus, and Cynthius Pamphilus, whose signatures stand on the last folio. Some of the points they raised were matters of style: some were of greater substance, such as the passage in Chapter 103 where the introduction had been incorporated in the main body of the decree, or that in 107 where "processibus" (cases) had been substituted for "precibus" (prayers). Twenty-seven of the twenty-nine were set right in the second version, the only exceptions being two grammatical points on which Paulus presumably felt that his judgement was better than that of the secretaries. The corrected text filled another nineteen folios. The critical accuracy of humanist scholarship, with its determination to grasp the original, was being applied to

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83. Bühler, "Paulus Manutius and his first Roman printings", cited under n. 60, above.

providing the Church with that clarity and certainty which Hosius had found wanting in the divided theology of the Protestants.<sup>84</sup>

*FAILURE OF FUNDS: FAILURE OF NERVE?*

Among the rolling platitudes of Paulus' published letters his intermittent but intense exchanges with his elder brother Manuzio stand in craggy isolation. They are unadorned, even abusive at times, frank to the point of indiscretion, and very detailed. Every topic from the writer's sore foot or the qualities of a newly purchased mare to the likelihood of Reginald Pole's being elected pope and making all their fortunes, was fair material for report or discussion. Paulus had no hesitation in demanding total independence from his elder brother's influence, then accusing him of ingratitude, or warning that new regulations might oblige him either to resign his benefice or become a priest. When their brother Antonio attempted to start on his own in Bologna, Paulus felt that he was "on the verge of madness and bankruptcy", and railed at Manuzio for failing to rush to his aid.<sup>85</sup> The very bluntness of these letters adds significance to the language which Paulus used when he wrote to his brother during the summer of 1561. He hoped to end his life in Rome: their father's dream had come true at last: never had the fortunes of their family stood so high.<sup>86</sup> Paulus was

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84. *UCLA* fasc. IIIb nos. 529a and 529b. Copy b is corrected in manuscript throughout, and signed by the secretaries on fol. 239v. A particularly fine working copy, with the extensive manuscript notes of a contemporary bishop, is preserved in the Saltykov-Shchedrin Library, St. Petersburg, Rare Books VIII 11.2.3.

85. *RLMI* e.g. pp. 1-3, 7-8, 11-15, 19-23, 45-47 = *PIEM* nos. 355, 443, 481, 492, 742.

reporting to a close but rather unloved relative, not thanking or cultivating a patron. The contract, and all we have been able to reconstruct about its background, suggests that his appraisal was not unreasonable. Modern commentators are agreed that patronage was an essential component in the success of publishers like Estienne or Plantin, and no printer can have enjoyed more powerful or extensive patronage than Paulus in the early 1560s.<sup>87</sup> Yet in less than four years, he was seeking permission to return to Venice. What went wrong?

Though the Aldine press remained in operation for more than a century, we rarely have any details of its financial state, and those details never build up a coherent picture. From the 1560s we have a number of documents relating to the structure of the business in Rome, including some of Cafano's accounts: the picture appears to be one of confusion, overspending, and uncertain cash-flow. This made it easy for Francesco Barberi to trace Paulus' difficulties and growing disillusion to matters of finance, and perhaps to overlook certain features of the wider scene which were either too obvious to be worth mentioning, or too uncertain to be worth investigating. First, the Manutius press continued to trade in Venice as well as in Rome. Though the exact link between

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86. *RLMI* p. 55 = *PIEM* no. 1010, 17 May 1561 (determined to remain in Rome): pp. 61, 63 = *PIEM* no. 1021, 15 August 1561 (Aldus' dreams fulfilled, he can sleep peacefully): p. 67 = *PIEM* no. 1023, 8 September 1561 (reputation never so high).

87. Robert Kingdon, "The Plantin Breviaries: a case study in the sixteenth-century business operations of a publishing house", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et de Renaissance* 22, 1960, pp. 133-50. Elizabeth Armstrong, *Before Copyright: the French Book-Privilege System 1498-1526*, Cambridge University Press 1990.

the two operations is less clear than one would like, papal privileges were printed in Venetian editions, so it is at least plain that some of the advantages of the connection with the papacy could be transferred. Second, those advantages were potentially so tremendous that Paulus' evident reluctance to exploit them is something of a puzzle in itself. Here the Ahmanson-Murphy document can help us again: its complicated background suggests there may have been other, more personal reasons behind Paulus' disappointment with the turn of events in Rome, and that some of his financial difficulties may have been of his own making.

The patronage of other sixteenth-century princes such as Francis I or Philip II was a relatively simple matter of cash-grants to cover the cost of expensive new types, or of certain privileges within the existing market. It was then up to Robert Estienne to commission the best possible founts from Claude Garamonde, or to Christopher Plantin to provide new breviaries for the Spanish church, and make the most of a business-situation which their princes had made both favourable and demanding. Paulus' relationship with the papacy was more complex. By accepting the Camera Apostolica as his paymaster as well as his patron, and its clerk Marsiglio Cafano as a regular member of his staff, he perhaps felt that he was sidestepping the day-to-day problems of business: in fact he was being edged imperceptibly into problems that far transcended business. Having undertaken to finance the press continuously, the papacy had to find the funds to do so: that involved the Manutius press in the budgets of the city of Rome and the Church, at a time when both were stretched



by ambitious programmes of reorganisation and reconstruction.<sup>88</sup>

Though Paulus complained to Seripando on 15 July 1561, that the Treasurer was “holding onto his money more tightly than Hercules gripped his club”, two payments of 1000 scudi were made on 23 July and 3 December of that year, and we can tell both from correspondence and from the accounts that no time was lost in exploiting them. On 9 August Paulus wrote to Muretus in Paris for a copy of Estienne’s Greek type, and on 15 to his brother in Venice for matrices of the famous Aldine cursive, and a variety of other founts promised – some said with the ulterior motive of removing of a rival from Venice – by Tommaso Giunti. The quest must have been successful, for 300 scudi were later dispatched to young Aldo to buy type-metal in Venice, and by the end of November payments were being made to the muleteers who had brought the types to Rome.<sup>89</sup> This was the time of optimistic boasts about the family’s reputation, and hopeful planning of scholarly editions with local humanists. On 5 December – two days after the second large

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88. Same studies: see also C. Clair, *Christopher Plantin*, London 1960, pp. 105-12; E. Armstrong, *Robert Estienne, Royal Printer*, Cambridge 1958 and 2nd ed., Sutton Courtenay Press 1986), pp. 52, 117-38. On Pius’ public works see *PIEM* no. 1038 *PMEL* pp. 319-21, and on his expenditure Hallman, *Italian Cardinals*, pp. 155-57.

89. *RAIA* pp. 526-27, *PIEM* no. 1015 (Paulus from Rome to Seripando in Trent, 15 July 1561); *Pogiani Epistolae*, cited under n. 24, above, vol. 2 p. 362-63 = *PIEM* no. 1019 (Paulus to Muretus from Rome, 9 Aug. 1561). The financial background can be traced in A. Lodolini, “La stamperia Vaticana e i suoi primi libri”, *Accademie e Biblioteche d’Italia* 7, 1933-34, pp. 154-61; summary in Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, cited under n. 9, above, pp. 36-45.

payment – Paulus assured Giambattista Tito in Florence that all was now ready.<sup>90</sup>

It was no idle boast. By 11 February 1562 Paulus had printed 1,700 copies of Pole's *De concilio* and was ready to dispatch 220 of them – a copy for each member – to the fathers assembled in Trent. The generosity of these first large investments no doubt accounts for the steady output of the next twenty months or so. The major theological texts containing the writings of Chrysostom, Theodoretus and Gregory of Nyssa were all ready by midsummer, or soon afterwards.<sup>91</sup> Eighteen editions were printed in 1562, a further fourteen in 1563, and it is interesting to find that, while the programme was running more or less as its supporters had intended, the proportion of printed pages devoted to theological material never reached even one third of the total produced in a single calendar year. The clause in the contract about “books of all kinds” was being taken to mean just what it said. Only towards the end of November 1563, when Cardinal Vitelli asked for 200 scudi per month to keep the presses active, did the financial officials wake up to the direction that the venture was taking. Vitelli, one of the four cardinals appointed to supervise the programme, wished to draw funds from the *datio del vin* – the city's levy on local sales of wine. The civic officials, whose own salaries happened to be drawn from the same source, objected that a single investment in a profitable business was one thing, but the continuing support of an experiment in which they

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90. *PMEL* Bk VI no. 8, pp. 319-21 = *PIEM* no. 1038.

91. A. Lodolini, “La stamperia Vaticana”, p. 160. *RALA* p. 530 = *PIEM* no. 1069, *RLMI* p. 366 = *PIEM* no. 1075: letters from Seripando, last dated 27 July, thanking him for the books.

had no direct interest was quite another. Perhaps they were also beginning to realise that Pius IV's private expenditure was running at something like ten times that of his unlamented predecessor. Bureaucratic delays restricted the subsidy over the next four months to 60 scudi per month, which was barely enough to meet the salaries of the editorial team, let alone buy the material to print anything. Paulus appealed desperately to Cardinal Da Mula on 14 February, but not until 23 April 1564 was any sort of solution devised. At an elaborate and slightly theatrical conference the papal representatives wafted promises of a vast further investment of 10,000 scudi, and succeeded in tempting the civil authorities into accepting part-ownership of the press and a share of the profits with Paulus in return for the higher subsidy.<sup>92</sup>

Cafano's detailed records give out at the end of 1563, but on the face of things the rather contrived agreement of the following spring had the desired effect. The next twelve months were a time of intense activity, and should have been a time of prosperity. No fewer than thirty-two editions appeared under the Aldine imprint during 1564, matching totals which Paulus had approached only once before, in 1551, and which we can neglect only if we insist, as Barberi did, on regarding the Venetian and Roman operations as separate from one another. The closing of the Council of Trent and his privileged access to its officials allowed Paulus to publish twelve editions of its decrees in various different formats, to check them with the precision reflected in the secretaries' manuscript

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92. Letter to Da Mula in Nollhac pp. 276-77 = *PIEM* no. 1163. Comment in E. Rodocanachi, *The Roman Capitol in Ancient and Modern Times*, transl. Frederick Lawton, London 1906, pp. 175-82; Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, pp. 48-54, and Doc. IV, pp. 169-71, 26 April 1564.

corrections, and so to satisfy Cardinal Hosius' demand for a doctrinal clarity and certainty that would highlight the divisions of the Protestants. It is impossible to believe that, properly marketed, these volumes would not have enjoyed a success equal to that of Plantin's Breviaries at the end of the decade.

The capacity taken up by canon law naturally depressed the proportion of theology to four editions, and 1101 printed leaves, less than one sixth of the total output. But safe classics and humanism continued to pour from the Venetian office, and the production of the two branches remained in exact balance: sixteen editions in Rome and sixteen in Venice.<sup>93</sup>

A good deal of this impetus was maintained into 1565. At eighteen editions covering 4349 folios overall production was being maintained above the average level of the 1540s and '50s. The counter-attack on Protestant scholarship continued in the first important volume of Jerome's Letters, and at the other end of the scale Bizzarri's unobtrusive but significant volume of prose and poetry appeared in Venice. Signs of something amiss begin to appear only in the latter part of the year. First, Paulus dispatched his wife and son back to Venice in a serious retreat from his resolve to "live and die in Rome".

Next, on 11 August disgruntled representatives of the commune, nominal shareholders for the past fifteen months, complained that they had received no account of how their funds were being handled. Four months of evasion and mutual recrimination followed. Then the grumblers had their chance. The death of Pius

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93. The number of leaves printed (7007 as against 6215) was higher in 1551 than in 1564, though the number of editions was only twenty-nine. See pp. 43-46, above, on the significance of the editions of Flaminio and Sallust.

IV on 9 December 1565 created the usual opportunity for mayhem during an interregnum, and a deputation led by the jurist Luca Peto coldly requested Paulus to leave his comfortable palazzo within the next five days.

In his cautious reconstruction of the archival documents surrounding this episode, its sequel, and the financial weaknesses it revealed, Francesco Barberi perhaps overlooked the two most curious features of the changed situation: that the papal authorities were now almost as desperate to keep Paulus in Rome as he was to leave, and that the total output of the Aldine press was reaching unprecedented heights. First came a series of public performances even more impressive than those of 1564. When the representatives of the commune came to pay their respects by kissing the feet of the new pope early in January 1566, Pius V kicked them aside bellowing “Get away, get away, and give Paulus Manutius his home again!”<sup>94</sup> On 14 March Paulus circulated an open letter to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, telling of his misfortunes and effectively challenging the great man to prove that thirty years of service to his family counted for something. On 3 May an entirely new contract was drawn up between Paulus and the citizens of Rome. It was still favourable – just how favourable we can tell by comparing it with the Ahmanson-Murphy document. Shifting the choice of texts from Paulus to the deputies may have cramped his freedom of action, but the correspondence of 1561 and 1562 makes it quite clear that he turned constantly to Seripando or Da Mula for advice and relied entirely on their chaplains. Luca Peto, one of

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94. The episode is described in detail in *RLMI* pp. 75-8 = *PIEM* no. 1251. Comment in Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, pp. 60-62.

the deputies who had evicted Paulus in 1565, later contributed two works of his own, including a fine treatise on Roman measures. The demand for a full inventory of stock and equipment or for consolidated accounts, especially of the sale of the Council's Decrees, amounted to no more than a more precise definition of the arrangements appropriate to an organisation that had been in business for four years and to commercial opportunities which were becoming more defined and more demanding. The 200 scudi per month subsidy, and Paulus' salary of 500 scudi per year, were both confirmed. The city was to find other suitable premises for him at its own expense.<sup>95</sup>

Barberi's whole view of the precarious financial state of the Manutius press in the 1560s is based on inference from a few very finely focused documents rather than a precise reckoning of profit and loss, which is simply not available. It also has to face the uncomfortable realities of soaring output and commercial opportunities which can hardly have been matched since the 1480s. In 1566 even the records of 1551 were surpassed, as the Roman and Venetian branches between them produced twenty-two editions covering 7224 printed leaves. The Catechism, whose "question and answer" format would make it as vital to the Catholic reformers as it had been to their Protestant opponents, made its first appearance. In 1567 work started on the revised Breviary.

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95. Nollac pp. 277-80, *PIEM* no. 1260 (appeal to Farnese). Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, Doc. VII pp. 173-76, 3 May 1566 (new contract). See above, pp. 37-41, and notes, for Paulus' reliance on the advice of Seripando, Morone and their chaplains. Peto's works are *De re iudiciaria* and *De mensuris et ponderibus* (*RALA* 1567 [14] and 1573 [11]).

These service books offered the Manutius press a commercial opportunity of staggering potential. Between 1500 and 1568 normal wastage had created a demand for 107 editions of the Breviary from Venetian publishers alone. In 1566 Pius V declared all existing versions obsolete, and granted a universal monopoly of sales of the revised text, and of the Catechism, to Paulus Manutius. In theory, every religious institution and every benefited priest in the Catholic world would be obliged to buy new copies of these essential books from Paulus, or from a concessionary who would pass some of the profit on to him.<sup>96</sup>

Yet during the later 1560s Paulus' correspondence reflects little save discontent and a desire to leave the city where, only four years earlier, he had hoped to end his life. When he asked Da Mula, Borromeo, and Sirletti for permission to return to Venice in January 1566, they would not even mention it to the pope. Even after the signing of the new contract, on 10 May, he still longed to get away. A year later, when work had already begun on the Breviaries, his temper had frayed still further: after three meetings with Cardinal Morone and his colleagues in the course of a week he felt his brain spinning, and could only pray that half the leaves would not have to be redone. When the first soundings came from Christopher Plantin in the late summer of 1567, asking for a share of the lucrative monopoly, Paulus reacted with something like a sigh of relief, for, as he wrote to his son "We cannot satisfy the huge demand". The truth, as

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96. *UCLA* fasc. IIIb nos. 552, 553. Grendler, *Roman Inquisition*, pp. 170-73. On the importance of the Catechism, see G. Parker, "Success and Failure during the First Century of the Reformation", *Past and Present* 136, 1992, esp. pp. 69-77.

Plantin realised, was that the Manutius press had never specialised in the delicate combination of red and black lettering required in the production of service books. Not one of those 107 earlier Venetian editions had been printed by Aldus or his son. Paulus was being confronted with a task which he had not expected, for which he had no training, and in which he had little professional interest.<sup>97</sup>

Paulus' sense of failure may have stemmed less from financial difficulties than from the disappointment of the high intellectual hopes with which he had come to Rome. The reappearance of the Ahmanson-Murphy contract, and the reconstruction of its background, enable us to see how complete the change of direction had been and how traumatic it must have been. It was natural to assume that the programme of the 1560s was "all of a piece", and that the new service-books, if not specifically mentioned in earlier documents, were so obvious and so lucrative a prospect that they must have been in everybody's mind from the start. In reality, Paulus came to Rome to implement a humanist counter-attack on the Protestant predominance in Biblical and patristic scholarship. The correspondence of the early 1560s leaves no doubt of the principal aim that Paulus and his supporters were pursuing: they hoped, like every Christian humanist since the time of Aldus the elder and Cardinal Ximenes, to print a polyglot Bible. Setting the ancient versions side by side had fascinated scholars long before

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97. *RLMI* pp. 75-100 = *PIEM* nos. 1251, 1269, 1314, 1333. Christophe Plantin, *Correspondance*, publiée par Max Rooses, *Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilien Uitgave*, 8 vols., 1883-1918, Tom. 1 p. 195 (Plantin to Cardinal Granvelle, 5 June 1567, hoping to print Breviaries): Tom. 2 p. 37 (undated, commenting on poor presswork of 1568 Manutius Breviary). On statistics for the production of breviaries see Grendler, *Roman Inquisition*, p. 170.



the Reformation: by the 1560s, dislodging the tainted version of Erasmus and Froben had become a matter of urgency, for it lay behind the translations of Luther, Castellio and Tyndale. The second line of the contract drew attention to “the Holy Scriptures”, and its supporters took that allusion seriously.<sup>98</sup>

The fate of the project remains something of a mystery. It seems to have suffered at first from the sheer enthusiasm of its partisans and their inability to agree on a common editorial strategy. The ink can hardly have been dry on the contract before Otto Truchses, prince-bishop of Augsburg, shared with the legate Hosius his hope that the Bible would be the first task which Paulus undertook. Likely editors were soon being identified and approached: Guglielmo Sirleto, an old protégé of Seripando, would handle the Greek text and Gabriele Faerno, one of the best Latin codicologists of the century, would be responsible for the Latin Vulgate. By early November, Seripando hoped to see the new Bible in print “by next Christmas”.<sup>99</sup> He was either thinking of Christmas 1562, or chasing a wild humanist fantasy, for as the fathers assembled in Trent during the autumn, “other matters”, such as Bullinger’s attack on the whole theory of conciliar responsibility, pressed themselves on his attention: Pole’s tract on

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98. J. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance*, Princeton University Press 1983.

99. See n. 59, above, for Truchses’ comment. Alfredo Marranzini, “Guglielmo Sirleto e Girolamo Seripando: due amici nella Chiesa del Cinquecento”, in *Il Cardinale Guglielmo Sirleto (1514-85), Atti del Convegno di Studio del IV Centenario della Morte (5-6-7 ottobre 1986)*, a cura di Leonardo Calabretta e Gregorio Sinatora, Istituto di scienze religiose di Catanzaro-Squillace 1989, pp. 85-86. Correspondence between Paulus and Seripando is collected in *RAIA* pp. 528-32, *PIEM* nos. 1040, 1073, 1075, 1080.

councils, or patristic texts dealing with the controversial issue of virginity, demanded more immediate publication. Not until midsummer, 1562, was the matter of the Bible raised again. Then it supplied one part of a general complaint from Paulus that “results were not living up to intentions, or to the good will of his Holiness”. At a soirée, Cardinal Da Mula had demanded an end to polemical trivia and a return to common Christian principle: amid general acclamation, he insisted that the polyglot Bible must be the first priority and urged Paulus to raise the matter with Seripando again. This time progress was mired in a debate over means. Paulus and Da Mula were certain that they had enough manuscript authority and editorial skill in Rome. Seripando was equally certain that they should first collate their text with a Bible in Urbino, “the most beautiful he had ever seen, and in all the languages”. His memory seems to have been merging different images into one: the ducal library of Urbino has several beautiful Bibles in the various ancient languages, but none that matches Seripando’s description. Confusion bred further delay: the Council was at a critical phase; Sirleto was suffering from fainting fits, and by March of the following year Seripando was dead. As late as September 1563, payments were made in Ferrara for the purchase of Hebrew matrices, so the scheme must have remained alive for at least a year after Da Mula’s soirée, and the exchange of letters between Paulus and Seripando. Admirers of the Complutensian Polyglot or Plantin’s Antwerp Bible should remember that both projects had their roots in the Aldine workshop.<sup>100</sup>

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100. For Seripando’s anxiety about Bullinger see Jedin, *Seripando*, cited under n. 61, above, Vol 1 pp. 632-33, Ep. 51, to Morone, 4 August 1561. *RALA* pp. 531-32, on Da Mula’s soirée and Seripando’s hopes of the Urbino Bible.

The whole tone of Paulus' letter to Seripando, with its complaint of "results failing to match intentions", suggests these delays over the polyglot Bible may have been part of a wider disappointment. In 1561, when he boasted to Manuzio of realising the dreams of their father, Paulus had probably pictured his residence in Rome as the resort of a team of scholars whose expertise and dedication would re-create the by now almost legendary Aldine circle of the 1500s. Something of the kind might well have happened, and it was largely a matter of ill-luck that it did not. The French Latinist Marcantoine Muret, one of the principal Aldine editors of the 1550s during his spell of teaching in Venice and Padua, had joined the entourage of Cardinal Ippolito D'Este and was well established in the French legation at Rome by 1560. Then the cardinal was named papal legate to France. Muret left Rome just as Paulus arrived, in midsummer 1561.<sup>101</sup> During the later 1550s the most constructive critic of Muret's ideas and Paulus' texts had been Gabriele Faerno, a rather abrasive

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C. Stomajolo, *Codices Urbinales Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae Descripti Descripti*, (Romae ex typographeo Vaticano 1895), pp. 3-13, describes no single manuscript that seems to fit Seripando's description. His emphasis on "beauty" points to the Urbino Bible of 1476-8 (Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Urb. Lat. 1-2): see Annarosa Garzelli, *La Bibbia di Federigo di Urbino* (Rome 1977): but the allusion to 'all languages' suggests the Volterra Bible (Vat. Ms. Urb. Ebraicus 1) or the XIIIth-century Greek Testament (Vat. Ms. Urb. graecus 2). See *Il libro della Bibbia: esposizione di manoscritti e di edizioni a stampa della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana dal secolo III al secolo XVI* (1972), Nos. 56, 84, 117. Lodolini, "La stamperia Vaticana", p. 158, for the reference to Hebrew matrices. I am grateful to Cecil Clough for his advice throughout this section.

101. C. Dejob, *Marc-Antoine Muret: Un Professeur Français en Italie dans la seconde moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1881, pp. 149-52.

bon-viveur with a sharp eye for the age of manuscripts. Paulus quickly enlisted his help with the text of Cyprian: but Faerno died at the end of 1561, the victim, it was said, of over-indulgence at the hospitable pope's dinner parties. Paulus got no more from him than a posthumous edition of Aesop's Fables.<sup>102</sup> Because of his fainting fits Guglielmo Sirleto was unable to give much more than moral support. Nicholaos Sophianos, a copyist, calligrapher and designer of Greek type whose experience went back to the time of Lascaris and was still active in Padua during the 1550s, was reported by Andrea Dudith to be dying in the autumn of 1562.<sup>103</sup> Next spring came the loss of Seripando, with all his influence in literary and ecclesiastical life. It is not very surprising that the great new works of scholarship which Paulus had planned with Fulvio Orsini either failed to appear or appeared, like Denis Lambin's very important edition of Horace, as reprints of texts first published elsewhere.<sup>104</sup>

Paulus' reaction to this run of misfortunes was to link his name more and more closely to that of the rising star, Andrea Dudith,

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102. B. L. Add. Ms. 10266, fols. 109-10, (description of Bibl. Ap. Vat. Ms. Lat. Basilicanus H.25 of Cicero, Philippics): *PIM* pp. 96-104, 161-3 = *PIEM* no. 777, 1047 (criticism of Muret's text of Terence, and death); *RAIA* p. 528 = *PIEM* no. 1037 (work on Cyprian): *UCLA* fasc. IIIb, nos. 540 and 540a (paraphrase of Aesop). For an assessment of his scholarship see A. Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger, a Study in the History of Classical Scholarship* 1, Oxford/Warburg 1983, pp. 65-70.

103. *RLMI* p. 368 = *PIEM* no. 1091 (Sophianos dying): W. Pettas, "Nikolaos Sophianos and Greek Printing in Rome", *The Library*, Fifth Series 29 no. 2, 1974, pp. 206-13. Jedin, *Seripando*, Vol 1 p. 629, Ep. 48, 29 March 1560 (Sirleto with fainting fits).

104. *UCLA* fasc. IIIb no. 558.

once Pole's secretary, his own pupil, and a very active member of the Paduan circle of the 1550s. He was "laden with honours in his own country, and dear to the emperor", even before the politics of the Council made him the vital link between Vienna and Trent. His speeches were copied and circulated. It seemed certain that his promotion to the see of Pécs would be a step on the ladder to a cardinalate, and that he would soon return to Rome with valuable scholarly contacts north of the Alps and an influence in church and state that might replace that of Seripando. When Paulus published his letter of congratulation to Dudith on 1 January 1564, it was a gesture of publicity as calculated as his appeal to Alessandro Farnese two years later.<sup>105</sup>

What followed has an air of tragi-comedy. It is the more important to remember that the issues of clerical celibacy and communion in both kinds had been among the most delicate handled by the Council precisely because it was these on which the imperial authorities had been most anxious to seek some kind of a compromise. The long petition from Vienna which Dudith had to present during May and June of 1562 had argued that marriage of priests was not forbidden by divine law, and that too intransigent an attitude would force valuable pastors into the Protestant camp against their own wishes. It seemed that the emperor's representative practised what he preached. By the spring of 1564, rumours were circulating that he himself was seen too frequently in feminine company. For a time, he managed to carry it off with beery guffaws, ribald digs of his elbow in the appropriate ribs, and assurances that "she was his mistress, not

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105. *PMEL* pp. 289-91 = *PIEM* no. 1000.

his wife". By the end of 1565 it was clear that this could not be the whole story. By 1567, Dudith was married and estranged from the Catholic church, having, in Paulus' eyes, sacrificed his fortune and his soul to lust. He could well have seen himself as a personification of the very fear which the petition from Vienna had expressed.<sup>106</sup>

The timing could not possibly have been more embarrassing. From Dudith, now an apostate by his own choice, a potential trail of suspicion led back to his protector Cardinal Pole, and so outwards to the writers of the *Beneficio di Christo*, to earlier apostates like Ochino, and to the heresiarch Calvin who had been their inspiration. Morone, chief signatory of Paulus' contract and legate to the Council during its concluding stages, had been in prison under suspicion of heresy less than five years earlier, largely because of his association with Pole. Hardly had the statutes of the Council and the revised index of prohibited books been published during the summer of 1564 than Paulus found himself involved in a wearisome exchange of letters with a Neapolitan poet named Fomarius: he needed to read the ancient astronomers, but had been forbidden to do so by his bishop for five years past; as the official publisher, could Paulus tell him whether the new canons permitted it or not? Cautious instructions and renewed queries, each shrouded in more arcane allusions, shuttled to and fro for the next seven months. At the end of the year came the

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106. The imperial petition is reproduced in *Concilium*, pp. 661-85, the issue of clerical marriage being highlighted on pp. 675-77. See Costil, *André Dudith*, cited under n. 76, above, pp. 107-23; B. L. Add. Ms 12207, fols. 4-6: letters from Petrus Perpinianus to Paulus, unknown to Pastorello, 4 November 1565, 31 March 1566, describing Dudith's efforts to conceal his marriage. *RLMI* p. 103, Ep. IX = *PIEM* no. 1336.

election of Fra Michele Ghislieri as Pope Pius V. A Dominican by vocation and Grand Inquisitor under Paul IV, he had played a leading role in imposing that pope's ferocious index on the Venetian booksellers. It is not altogether surprising that Paulus' mind had not been on his accounts during the summer months of 1565.<sup>107</sup>

Paulus reacted to Dudith's apostacy with a defensive display of orthodoxy. He succeeded in destroying almost all the copies of his letter of congratulation, of which only one survives in the Biblioteca Trivulziana of Milan. In the early autumn of 1565 he attempted to form safer associations by cultivating the Franciscan General Clement De Olera or Dolera, a protégé of Paul IV and author of a rigorous *Compendium of Theology*. Whether there was ever, in the strict sense, an Aldine edition of this work, remains uncertain. Renouard accepted it on the strength of a preface included in the later collections, but evidently without seeing a copy of the work itself. There is no allusion to any such edition in the stock-lists of the later 1560s, and Barberi was unable to find the book in any Roman library. Paulus may have been content to link himself as closely to Dolera as he could by writing a preface for Blado's edition and using it to advertise his approval of the sections on celibacy and sin. Whether or not there was an Aldine edition, the timing was obvious. During the same month, September, Paulus was inquiring anxiously through friends about Dudith's conduct, and two of the replies he received from the Jesuit Perpinianus in Lyons evaded the eye of Pastorello. The dates of the two letters – 3 November 1565 and 31 March 1566 – prove that the gossip over Dudith's apostacy

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107. *PIM* pp. 225-27, 233; *PMEL* pp. 353-5 = *PIEM* nos. 1171, 1174, 1178, 1197, 1199. On Ghislieri, see Grendler, *Roman Inquisition*, esp. pp. 115-27.

was reaching a crescendo just as the future of the press approached its crisis in the autumn of 1565.<sup>108</sup>

Paulus' correspondence suggests that these months were a kind of watershed. Throughout 1567 and 1568 his letters to young Aldo, now branch manager in Venice, become more frequent and acquire the informal, informative quality once shown in the letters to Manuzio. The poor prospects in Rome, even with two presses at work on Breviaries, provide a constant theme. Such pessimism makes little sense against a broader background: hence the uneasiness of Renouard and Barberi. Between 1484 and 1488, when the impact of printing was still in its early stages, sales of the Breviary, the Missal and the Office of the Virgin had accounted for 14.5% of Francesco da Madiis' sales in Venice. Apart from the 107 Venetian editions we have already mentioned, there had been 63 Parisian and 62 Lyonnais versions of the Breviary up to the time of Paulus' monopoly.<sup>109</sup> Plantin made his fortune from supplying Spain and its dependencies with the new version under a privilege derived from the monopoly enjoyed by the Manutius press. But against the closer, more personal background Paulus' misery can be better understood. As Plantin rightly saw, Paulus did not have the expertise to print office books. Whether he was dealing with Plantin, his own son Aldo, or other Italian associates, Paulus seems always to have been more anxious to delegate the responsibility than to exploit its

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108. *RAIA* 1565 (5). The letter is printed in *Pauli Manutii Praefationes*, 1580, pp. 123-25, Sept. 1565. See also the citation from B. L. Add. Ms 12207 under n. 106, above. On Dolera see Eubel p. 36.

109. *RLMI* p. 100 = *PIEM* no. 1333, Paulus to Aldo, 27 September 1567. On statistics for the production of breviaries see Grendler, *Roman Inquisition*, p. 170.



potential. He was slow even to respond to suggestions which were to his own obvious advantage, such as the naming of an agent to whom Plantin could send copies to be sold on Paulus' behalf. Paulus had seen himself not as a craftsman presenting a purified liturgy but as a scholar coordinating a humanist revival.<sup>110</sup> That vision evaporated during the winter of 1565, with the defection of Andrea Dudith, and the last dispersal of the dreams that had floated around the original summons to Rome, and those associated with it.

### CONCLUSION

To Paulus, the entire venture in Rome was a disaster. What had begun in 1562 as a vague fear that actions were not living up to intentions had by 1568 become a sullen reckoning that six years work had not brought him 3000 scudi profit. This gave later generations their cue to speak of "lukewarmness and indifference", to emphasise the intellectual barrenness of the programme that Paulus was supposed to implement, and to linger on his failure to take advantage even of the monopoly that he was supposed to enjoy. Association of ideas soon drew in issues far more important than the fortunes of a single publishing house and made Paulus' gloom a symptom of more widespread intellectual malaise. Coinciding with the evident "triumph of the Inquisition", the decline of the Aldine press encouraged historians to focus their interpretations of the Catholic revival on the control of opinion rather than on any scholarly commitments which that control might have involved. The discipline of the new orders, the stricter organisation

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110. Plantin, *Correspondance*, cited under n. 97, above, vol. 2 pp. 100, 107.

of the dioceses, the encouragement of popular devotion through new saints' lives and old imagery, pushed their way to the centre of attention. The liberal ideals of Erasmus' time retreated to the margin. Only very recently has the press been mentioned again as a factor in establishing the moral and intellectual certainty for which Hosius and Seripando longed. By raising questions about the nature of Paulus' mission in Rome and his own view of it, the Ahmanson-Murphy document raises questions about much else besides.<sup>111</sup>

Above all, the document and its background emphasise the respect and fear with which the press was regarded by leaders on all sides of the religious conflict. My preliminary work on this essay was already complete when George Fletcher kindly sent me transcripts of six letters from a manuscript in the Beinecke Library of Yale, all of them addressed by Paulus to Cardinal Rodolfo Pio, and all dealing with earlier and fruitless efforts to establish the Manutius press in Rome. Three of the six, including the most important, were known to Pastorello: but they only make sense as a group, and in the light of the contract with Pius IV. Paulus sounded out Cardinal Rodolfo in May 1555 on the chances of persuading the newly elected Pope Paul IV to bring him to Rome either as a scholar, a publisher, or both. Perhaps he still thought of Pope Paul as the founder of the Theatine order, friend of Reginald Pole, and reformer of the 1520s and '30s. Rodolfo, not

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111. Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, pp. 9-10, 83-84; Grendler, *Roman Inquisition*, pp. 169-74. I am following Grendler's account in all respects except Paulus' lack of interest in the office-books. On the wider historical context see citations under nn. 27 and 38; B. Cecchetti, *La Repubblica di Venezia e la Corte di Roma nei rapporti della religione*, 2 vols., Venice 1874; A. G. Dickens, *The Counter Reformation*, London 1968; Parker, "Success and Failure...", cited under n. 96.

very surprisingly in the light of his more recent acquaintance with the new pontiff, gave no encouragement: so almost exactly a year later Paulus tried to raise the stakes by listing the number of tempting offers he had received from elsewhere and obliquely warning that the most recent was one that “he could not reasonably refuse”. The proposal had come on the 19th of May from a secretary of the Elector Palatine, and since he enclosed a copy of the terms with his letter, Paulus must have thought the negotiations were serious. He said nothing about the Elector as a person, except that he was interested in commissioning an ecclesiastical history: perhaps he knew little, since Otto Heinrich had succeeded to the electorate only a few months earlier, and died in 1559. Cardinal Pio is unlikely to have shown such unconcern. He was an experienced diplomat, with access to the relevant correspondence. If he did reply to Paulus, it was probably to warn his old family retainer that any invitation from the pope was now more likely to end him in the dungeons of the inquisition than in some pleasant scholarly sinecure.<sup>112</sup>

Throughout the early summer of 1556 the dispatches of the papal nuncio from Munich and Vienna were touching up the details of Otto Heinrich’s costume as the new Protestant ogre. Within a month or so of his accession, he had thrown down images, destroyed altars, and forced his subjects to accept his heresies, at sword-point if necessary: he was the most deadly enemy of the

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112. *PIEM* no. 1333, no. 641, *PIM* pp. 66-69, 23 May 1556 (Beinecke Ms Yale 692). Since I have not seen the original I refer those interested in the precise manuscript references to George Fletcher’s forthcoming study (“Paulus Manutius in aedibus Populi Romani: the campaign for Rome” *Aldus Manutius and Renaissance Culture: International Conference in Honor of Dr. Franklin Murphy* [forthcoming]). My debt to him is as obvious as it is great.

pope and the Catholic Church alive anywhere in the German-speaking lands; he was fast becoming the ideological leader of a Protestant alliance more dangerous and committed than the Schmalkaldian League itself, even though it was still unarmed. The new Lutheran leaders were showing a skill with intellectual propaganda that the nuncio Dolphin found especially alarming. The duke of Saxony was said to have poured 30,000 gulden into new endowments at the University of Wittenberg. Religious propaganda in Latin, German, and even Italian was nothing new: but now polemical works in French, Spanish, and Slavonic were pouring off the presses as well.<sup>113</sup> There was substance behind the nuncio's fears. From its very beginnings the Protestant movement had flaunted its reliance on the printed book, and showed enormous versatility in exploiting it. In the 1530s Geneva was a provincial town which saw the publication of barely forty editions in eight years: by 1562 it was an international centre which turned out sixty-nine in twelve months. In the same year, most of the presses in the city were coordinated to produce 27,400 copies of Beza's translation of the Psalms for distribution throughout France in one of the most intensive missionary efforts of the century.<sup>114</sup> This wave was gathering force as the Elector Palatine approached Paulus and the nuncio Dolphin penned his anxious dispatches: if the Manutius press could be tempted into the Protestant camp as well, the reformed churches would have a

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113. *Nuntiatuerberichte aus Deutschland nebst ergänzenden Actenstücken*, herausgegeben durch die Preussische Archiv-Verwaltung, 17 vols., Gotha/Tübingen 1892-1970, vol. 17, 1970, pp. 212, 219, 235, 245, 267-68.

114. P. Chaix, *Recherches sur l'Imprimerie à Genève de 1550 à 1564: Étude Bibliographique, Économique et Littéraire*, Geneva 1978 ed.: Kingdon, "The Plantin Breviaries", cited under n. 87, above.

virtual monopoly of scholarly publishing. It is not surprising to find Cardinal Hosius complaining that academic texts had now to be bought from Protestant publishers.

And so we stumble, almost unconsciously, across another feature in the intellectual history of the Counter-Reformation which the new document restores to our attention: the importance of classical learning as a kind of no-man's land which Protestant and Catholic scholars fought to control, but where they could also meet in surprising amity. Several of Paulus' future supporters – Morone and Otto Truchses among them – were mentioned or addressed in the dispatches which picked out the horrifying profile of Otto Heinrich. Whether or not Paulus realised what kind of ecclesiastical history he would be expected to write for the Elector, the stress placed in the first Roman publications of the Aldine press on early Christian history, and the heroic resistance of the Church to both persecution and heresy, make a striking response to the threat concealed in the Elector's offer. In 1550 Calvin himself had crowed over Robert Estienne's migration from Paris to Geneva: but three years later Robert's son Henri was able to pass unmolested between Rome, Florence, and Venice, protected by his father's giant reputation as a Hellenist and recommended by Cardinal Maffei as "a learned young man of agreeable disposition, thoroughly worthy of your lordship's acquaintance". In 1555 Paulus himself published Henri's edition of the Greek bucolic poets under a dedication to the humanist nuncio Giovanni della Casa.<sup>115</sup> This is

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115. A.-L. Herminjard, *Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les Pays de la Langue Française*, 9 vols., Nieuwkoop 1966-69, vol. 9, pp. 309-16. On Henri Estienne's visit to Italy see B. L. Add. Ms 10275, fols. 178f. His edition of Bion and Moschus is *RAIA* 1555 (10), *UCLA* fasc. IIIa, no. 421.

an area of the Catholic revival where there is still profound disagreement and ample scope for research. Was any common ground left between the reformed and Catholic faiths by the time of the last meetings at Trent, and just how rapidly had it narrowed over the previous decades? Did Paulus simply fail to notice Bizzarri's little poems from the court of the English Jezebel? Or did those poems form part of a wider strategy, along with the revised edition of Flaminio and Pole's treatise on the powers of a council? If so, what was that strategy? Can it, in retrospect, give us a clearer idea of what Flaminio and the other members of Pole's circle had in mind when they prepared *Beneficio di Cristo crocefisso* for publication? Sweeping dismissals of questions like these are no longer convincing, and until the relevant texts have been thoroughly examined in the light of all contemporary correspondence we are not likely to reach the more delicately shaded answers which we need.

The outbreak of civil war in France in 1562 did far more to stem the flow of Protestant propaganda than the ideological counterattack for which Hosius, Seripando, and Paulus had hoped. One of the main Genevan booksellers, Laurent de Normandie, still had 8,356 copies of the Psalms on his inventory at the time of his death in 1569, and by 1571 Geneva's total production had slumped to 19 works. In the long run, Laurent had more reason to give way to sullen despondency than Paulus Manutius. Paulus had plainly hoped for a humanist revival in Rome: his letters to Rodolfo Pio leave no doubt of that. But though the classical and patristic editions of the early 1560s were fewer than intended, the critical methods applied in them show Catholic theologians arming

themselves with the weapons once used against them and reoccupying the high ground of scholarship that they had lost almost half a century earlier. The link between the Manutius press and the papacy played its part in shifting the balance of prestige, and though the triumph of the polyglot Bible was eventually celebrated by Plantin, the plans were made in Rome. The carefully corrected decrees of the Council were the first step towards that certainty of dogma which was reinforced at different levels by the new service books, the catechisms, and the "safe" classics. All played their part in creating a better-educated clergy at each diocesan seminary, and dispatching its members to their parishes with a clear message for the schools which they were now required to address each Sunday. It is significant that one of Paulus' main supporters was Carlo Borromeo, whose reform of clerical education in the diocese of Milan became a model of speed and efficiency. Much of this success lay too far in the future to lighten Paulus' gloom in the later 1560s. But the single, rather tattered folio in the Ahmanson-Murphy collection reveals the more distant aims of the campaign and suggests that Paulus' role in it may have been more important than he realised. Setting his Roman editions in the context of his whole publishing programme, and setting that programme against the wider background of the Counter-Reformation, are responsibilities that neither bibliographers nor historians can shrug off any longer.

## APPENDIX

### *Transcription of the Contract*

Desiderando la S.<sup>ta</sup> di N. S.<sup>re</sup> per honor et seruitio della S.<sup>ta</sup> sedia ap.<sup>ca</sup> et à beneficio, et util pub<sup>ca</sup> di condur' in Roma una stampa, dalla quale escano libri ben corretti et emendati cosi della sacra scrittura come d'ogn' altra sorte, massime in questi tempi che le stampe si truouano in molti luoghi corrotte dagli heretici, et hauendo designato di darne la cura à m. Paulo manutio al pnte habitante in Venetia, De qui è che la R. Cam.<sup>a</sup> aplica, per ordine espresso, et in nome di su s.<sup>ta</sup> da Vna banda, Et il prefato m. Paulo, et per lui il molto R. Mons. Antonio Vescouo di Caserta suo procur' dall' altra banda, si conuengano nel modo che siegue, cio é /

Che la detta Cam.<sup>ra</sup> conduce il p.<sup>to</sup> m. Paulo all' Impresa et gouerno della detta stampa p anni dodici pross.<sup>i</sup> da uenire cominciando il p.<sup>mo</sup> giorno di Maggio ~~pross.~~<sup>o</sup>, con prouisione de scudi Cinquecento d'oro l'anno, da essergli pagati di sei in sei mesi inanzi tratto, la qual s'intenda cominciar' à correr' al detto giomo primo di Maggio ~~pross.~~<sup>o</sup>, per il pagamēto della quale essa Cam.<sup>a</sup> gli debba dar un assignamēto buono sufficiente et esigibile et far' con effetto che su' s.<sup>ta</sup> tra un mese poi chè esso m. Paulo sarà arriuato in Roma à conto della medemà prouisione gli darà un Caualerato Pio, qual debba esser mesto nella persona del figliuolo del p.<sup>to</sup> m. Paulo del pn'te mese presente /

Item che la detta Cam.<sup>a</sup> gli debba far' pagare ad ogni beneplacito suo ò del detto Mons. di Caserta suo proc'are scudi trecento simili, quali habbino da essere per le spese del condur' se et la Famiglia sua da Venetia à Roma /



Item che la detta Camera à sue spese gli debba tener' pagata per tutto il detto tēpo d'anni xii una casa competente alla detta stampa, et capace della sua fameglia et Ministri che per conto d'essa stampa si haueranno à tenere /

Item che il detto m. Paulo debba hauer' la cura generale di cio che apperterrà non solo alla stampa ma ancora alla uendita de libri [stampati qui da lui *add. Morone*] /

Item che la detta Camera debba prouedere al detto m. Paulo primamēte delli danari da spendersi nel apparato gnale della nuoua stampa per quanti torcoli piacerà à su s.<sup>ta</sup> secondo l'ordine ch' esso m. Paulo giudicherà esser necess<sup>o</sup> et dippoi debba souenire di quanto giornm<sup>te</sup> bisognerà nel corso dell' Impresa, come in carte et alte cose necessarie, salarii di lauoranti, di correttori, oltre la persona d'esso m. Paulo et d' altri Ministri et bisogni, le quali cose tutte debbano esser' elette et regolate per prudente et buon' consiglio del detto m. Paulo /

Item che se per guerra ò peste ò per qual si uoglia altro ~~Impedimento~~ impēsato accidente, che Dio non uoglia, eccetto che non fusse per defetto suo, la detta stampa si fermassi, non di meno debba sempre correre et pagarsi al detto m. Paulo la detta prouisione sino alla fine delli detti anni dodici, ne sotto qual si uoglia reuocatione ò sospensione s' intenda esser compresa /

Et di rincontro Il detto m. Paulo si debba per il detto effetto metter' in uiaggio per Roma come prima gli sia prouisto delli detti scudi trecento per le spese d'esso Viaggio, et seruir' li detti anni xii secondo la forma di questi cap.<sup>li</sup> /

Item che il detto m. Paulo debba gouernar' la detta impresa lealmente et con quella fede et diligenza che si richiede /

Item conuengano che la detta Cam.<sup>ra</sup> debba a sue spese tener' appresso ~~appresso~~ al detto m. Paulo un cassiero per man del quale si habbia da sborsare il danaro per l'uniuersal bisogno della detta stampa, et nelle cui mano debba uenir' tutto il ritratto delli libri che alla giornata si uenderano, il q<sup>ale</sup> di tutto debba tener' conto diligentemente. Et perchè la detta Impresa si possa seguir' senza tema d'alcuno disordine che potessi succedere per conto del danaro che ui sara da spendere, si habbi da deputar' un bancho ò altra persona sufficiente, il quale debba senza replica ò dilatione pagare al detto cassiero di uolta in uolta quel denaro che per conto della detta impresa dal detto m. Paulo sarà ordinato [per suo mandato *add. Morone*] /

Item che tra la detta Camera et il p.<sup>to</sup> m. Paulo ogni quattro mesi di debba saldar' il conto et rimborsata che si sara prima la detta Cam.<sup>a</sup> col danaro del ritratto de libri che si uenderano, di tutta la spesa che si sarà fatta nella detta impresa eccetto la detta prouisione di scudi 500 l'anno et la pigione della casa, di tutto il soprauanzo, la meta sia delle detta Camera et l'altra meta del p.<sup>to</sup> m. Paulo /

Item promette la detta Camera che su s.<sup>ta</sup> confermerà il pnte contratto per un' suo motuproprio con le clausule necessarie tra quindici giorni prosimi da uenire.

S<sup>mus</sup> D. N. mandauit ut fieret cōtractus

Io.<sup>s</sup> Car<sup>lis</sup> Moronus

Gu. As. Car.<sup>lis</sup> Cam.<sup>s</sup>.



